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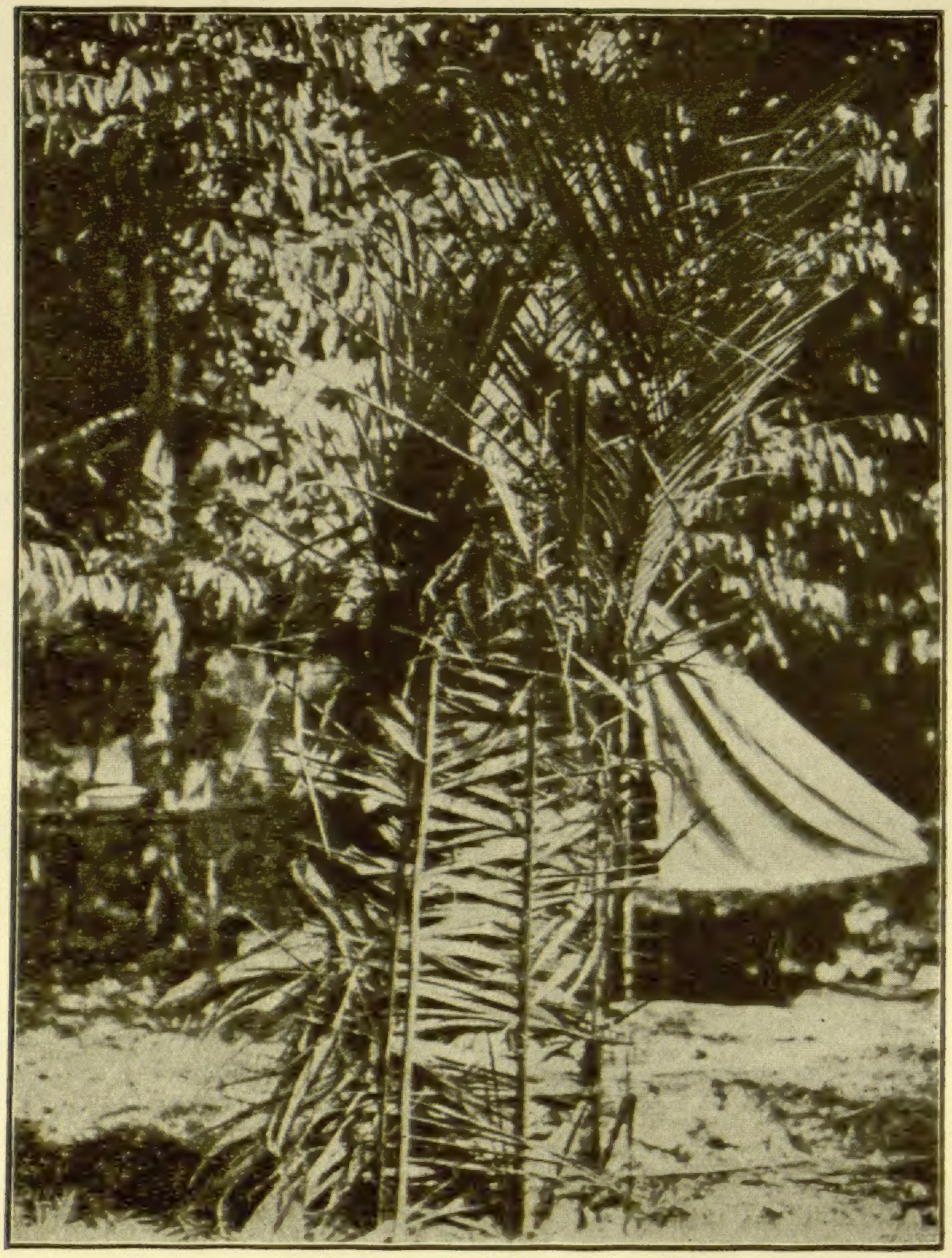

I. H. EVANS, PHOTO.

NEGRITO "MEDICINE-HUT," ULU SELAMA, PERAK.

I. SOME NEGRITO BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS.

By IVOR H. N. EVANS, *M.A.*

The material contained in the present paper was obtained in March 1918 at a Negrito settlement near the Damak River in the Ulu Selama Parish of Perak, and from a few Negritos living in the neighbourhood of Grik, Upper Perak. With the former I stopped for ten days, pitching my tent close to their camp. Among them were two men whom I had met before, one at Kuala Kenering in Upper Perak, the other at Ijok in the Selama District. The latter in particular was extremely useful to me as, remembering that I had maintained friendly relations with himself and the other Ijok people, he assured the tribesmen that I had no hostile intentions. This was somewhat necessary as, though I had sent a local Malay, who had considerable influence with the people, to tell them that I was coming, and to make them a present of tobacco, yet I found on my arrival that all the women, and a few of the men, had taken to the jungle.

Tōkeh, my Ijok acquaintance, told me that the Negritos of the Selama Valley are called Kintak Bong or Menik Bong by the other tribes. He himself, he said, was a Menik Kaien (*i.e.* Krian Valley Negrito). The tribes of the Ulu Krian, of Ulu Selama, of Lenggong, of Kuala Kenering, and of those parts of Kedah nearest to Perak intermarry to a considerable extent, though those of Lenggong and Kuala Kenering speak a Northern Sakai, and the others so-called Negrito dialects. Thus in the neighbourhood of Ijok, according to Tōkeh, there are Menik Gul (truly native), Menik Kaien, and Menik Lanoh [1] (Lenggong and Kenering people), but at this place they are, I understand, not only intermixed by marriage, but there are separate camps of each of the three divisions. The Menik Kaien are also said to have a camp near the Ayer Sauk, a tributary of the Plus (?), as well as some around the headwaters of the Krian River, their native locality. Other tribes, to whom Tōkeh referred in the course of conversation, were the Menik Yup, said to live in the neighbourhood of the Kupang River in Kedah, the Trans-Perak River Negrito-Sakai of the hills (Menik Chubak), the Menik Jehai—the

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[1] The Menik Lanoh call themselves Semāk (Semark) Bĕlūm or Semāk Sabeum. The Perak River in its upper reaches is known both to the local Malays and to the aborigines as the Bĕlum (or better *Bĕlong*) water. Semāk Bĕlūm means, therefore, "Perak River Aborigines," *semāk* indicating, as far as I can make out, aborigines only. *Vide Journ. of the F.M.S. Museums*, vol. VI, p. 203.

Jehehr of the Malays—at Tadoh, and the Menik Kensieu of Baling and of the Mahang River neighbourhood in Kedah.

It is not worth while to give a lengthy description of the Negritos' camp near the Damak River as this essentially resembled that of some Lenggong aborigines near Gelok, which I have dealt with in a former paper. It may, however, be noted *en passant* that the shelters were set in an oval and that the married people, bachelors, and unmarried females—maidens, divorced women, or widows—occupied separate divisions of them, the maidens being partly screened from the public gaze by a slight screen of palm-leaves on the inner side of their particular abode. As is usual among the Negritos, each shelter contained a small platform close to which a fire was kept burning all night in order to warm those sleeping there. The work of thatching and building the shelters is, I was informed, undertaken by the women alone.

The Negrito Gods.

Skeat tells us that Ta' Pönn is the supreme deity of the Negritos of Siong in Kedah, whom he states that Vaughan Stevens disguises under the name of Tappern. Now though I have been unable to obtain any confirmation of much of Vaughan Stevens's work, notably of his elaborate stories about the patterns on the combs worn by Negrito women, yet I have certainly found that there is some truth to be found in his writings, and in no case has more evidence of this come to hand than in the Ulu Selama Parish. Judging by what Skeat says—I have not Vaughan Stevens's original papers in the *Globus* to refer to—he seems seldom to have given the localities from which he obtained his information. This makes it exceedingly difficult to judge of his accuracy, or inaccuracy, but he did, at any rate, work in the Ulu Selama region.[1] It will be found, I think, on comparing the material in this, and some of the following sections—largely obtained from Tōkeh, but also checked in part by questioning other Negritos—with what Vaughan Stevens, as quoted by Skeat,[2] wrote upon similar subjects, that it bears out his work to a considerable extent. Among the Negritos of the Damak River settlement I found that the principal god is called Tapern, and on one occasion I heard him alluded to as Tāk (Tā') Tapern. No doubt the difference between Tā' Pönn and Tāk Tapern is merely due to the fact that the dialect spoken by the Siong people differs from that of Ulu Selama. Tapern appears to be a kind of deified tribal ancestor, for, according to Tōkeh's story, Tapern, his wife (Jalang), his younger brother (Bajiaig), and Bajiaig's wife, Jamoi, escaped from the war between the Siamang and Mawas in which the Negritos

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[1] *Vide Papers on Malay Subjects, The Aboriginal Tribes*, p. 4.
[2] ***Pagan Races*, vol. II, pp. 202-225.**

got their frizzly heads through their hair being singed while they were hiding in some porcupine burrows, when the plain in which these were was fired by the Mawas.[1] The four were able to climb up to heaven because they had not had their hair burnt; but the rest of the Negritos could not follow them. Tapern made a ladder up to heaven by shooting a series of darts from his blowpipe into the air. The first of these stuck into a black cloud, and the others ranged themselves in order below, so as to form steps, up which he and his three companions then climbed. Tapern is white and his father's name is Kukak, while his mother is named Yak Takel. Yak (grandmother) Lepeh is the mother of Jalang, and Jamoi's mother is called Yak Manoid. These three "Grandmothers" live under the earth and guard the roots of the *Batu Herem*, the stone which supports the heavens—I shall have occasion to refer to this later on—and they can make the waters under the earth rise and destroy any of the Negritos who give great cause of offence to Tapern. Tapern's subjects, the beings of the heavens, are called Chinoi, and he uses them as messengers, while a personage named Jatik, who lives in the eastern sky, acts as his body-servant, and two others, Chapor and Chalog, as constables, who inform him if anyone on earth is committing sins. When he is angry, Tapern commands the stone which makes the thunder to roll over the four boards which meet in the centre of the heavens, one of which extends towards the east, one towards the west, and the other two towards the north and south respectively.[2] Tapern's house stands at the angle where the southern and western boards meet. As the stone rolls along the boards, making thunder (*kaii*), a cord, which is attached to it, winds and unwinds itself, and this flashing cord is the lightning. The thunder is heard to roll from one end of the heavens to the other as the stone rolls over the planks. When a bad thunder-storm comes on, and the Negritos are frightened, they draw blood from the outer side of the right leg near the shin-bone and throw it up towards the sky saying, "*Loim mahum pek keping*!" (*i.e.* "Throw the blood aloft!").

This is as much as I learnt of Tapern and the other celestials from Tōkeh and the people of the Damak River settlement, but I got a story from the Negritos of Grik which differs in some important respects from the legend current among the Ulu Selama tribe, for in it, among other peculiarities, Tapern becomes the younger brother, instead of the elder. The tale of the Grik aborigines, which I extracted from them with a good deal of trouble, is as follows:—Kari[3] makes the

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[1] *Vide* a legend in a former paper of mine on the Negritos of Ijok. *Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, vol. V, pp. 180 and 181.

[2] *i.e.* forming a cross of the four quarters.

[3] The word *kari* means thunder and is, of course, equivalent to the *kaii* of the Ulu Selama Negritos. *Vide* footnote 2, p. 10 *infra*.

thunder. He has long hair all over his body like a Siamang-monkey (*Symphalangus syndactylus*), but this is white, and shines as if it had been oiled. The hair of his head is long like a Malay woman's, but white. Kari and his younger brother Tapern, who also has white hair covering his body, went up to the sky. They were magicians (*Halak*), and before they ascended there was no thunder. They came on foot up the Perak River from its mouth on a fishing expedition. They stopped at the place where Gunong (Mt.) Kendĕrong now is to smoke tobacco, and the elder brother unfastened his fishing-line and wound it round his head, sticking his rod upright in the ground. The younger brother also fixed his rod in the ground near the elder's, but, before doing so, broke off the top part, and wound the line round its stump. Then they both returned to a shelter that they had built some little way down-stream to eat tubers. When they had eaten, they looked towards the place where they had left their rods and saw that two mountains (Gunong Kendĕrong and Gunong Kerunai) had arisen there; whereupon the younger brother said, "Our fishing-rods have become mountains!"; but his elder brother told him not to speak about it. The next night they made a circular medicine-hut and held a magical performance: then they disappeared into the sky. It was the elder brother's rod which became Gunong Kendĕrong (the taller of the two mountains), and the younger brother's which became Gunong Kerunai. Kari and Tapern met their wives, Jamoi and Jalang in the sky. Yak Manoid and Yak Takel[1] live under the earth, and are the mothers of Jamoi and Jalang.

The Creation of the World.

According to Tōkeh the earth was brought up from below by Tahum (the dung-beetle) in the form of a kind of powder.[2] This Kawap, the Bear, stamped down with his paws, for, if he had not done so, the earth would have gone on rising till it almost reached the sky.

The Sun, the Eclipse of the Moon, the Rainbow.

Tōkeh told me that the sun appeared in heaven in the following way:— There were once two persons, male and female, named Ag-Ag and Klang. The former has now become the Crow and the latter the Hawk. They lived in a house, and they had a son who was called Tanong (Dragonfly).

One day Tanong was flitting backwards and forwards under the house, playing like a child, and as he did so, the

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[1] Yak Takel is the mother of Tapern according to the Menik Kaien; *vide supra.*

[2] Just, I suppose, as dung-beetles bring up powdery earth at the present day when they draw pieces of dung under the surface of the soil.

house was carried up into the air, and rose towards the sky. Presently Tanong's mother looked out of the door to see what her son was doing, and becoming dizzy on seeing that the house had risen far above the earth, she fell from the doorway, screaming like a hawk, and, while in mid-air, became transformed into a bird of that kind.

Soon the father also came to the door, and he too fell out, and became a crow. Tanong went up to the sky with the house. The house became the sun, and Tanong lives with Tapern and looks after it. The following information is also from Tōkeh. The sun, when it sets, falls into a tunnel-like cave which extends under the earth and passes out through the far end of it each morning to appear again in the east. The moon when it sets also goes into this cave.

The eclipse of the moon is caused by the sun (male) who is jealous of the moon (female) because she has many children (the stars). He, therefore, sends the *Gahayup*, a kind of large butterfly or moth, to attack her. The butterfly comes from the place where the sun goes down (*met ketok menlis*). The lunar eclipse is thus called "butterfly swallow" (*Gahayup hilud*[1]).

The rainbow is a snake, *Hwiak*, which comes to drink.

The Stone which supports the Heavens.

The stone pillar which is thought to support the sky is called the *Batu Herem*. Tōkeh told me that this is to be seen near Jinerih in Kedah, and from it to the edge of the world, in whatever direction, the distances are the same. The *Batu Herem* pierces the sky and supports it, and the portion which projects above the sky is loose, and balanced on the lower part at an angle. This loose part is above Tapern's heaven, and is in a dark region named *Ligoi*. Four cords run from the top of it to the four quarters of the world, and the ends of them, which are weighted with stones called *Tang-al*, hang below the surface of the earth. The two *Tang-al* at the ends of the eastern and western cords are longer than those attached to the northern and southern.

The Abode of the Dead and their Journey to it.

The souls of the dead, which, according to Tōkeh, leave their bodies through the big toes, go to the edge of the sea where the sun goes down, but for seven days they are able to return to their old homes. At the end of that time, those of the good are escorted by Mampes to an island which is called *Belet*. They pass to this over a green switch-backed bridge,

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[1] The Negritos of Grik told me that a lunar eclipse (*bulan pud*) is caused by a snake attacking the moon. They said that on such an occasion they call out "*Bulan chib beh-ek*!" which seems to mean, "Moon go well!"

named the *Balam Bacham*, which spans a sea. Mampes, the guardian of the *Balam Bacham*, is like a gigantic Negrito; he walks with great speed, and eats the burial offerings (*penitok*), which are placed in the graves for the spirits of the dead to carry with them on their last journey. When the souls of the good have crossed the *Balam Bacham*, on each side of which grow flowers, and entered *Belet*,[1] they come to the *Mapik*-tree, where they meet those of people who have died previously. They cannot wear the flowers of this tree until they have had all the bones of their limbs broken by the companions who have preceded them, and have had their eyes turned back in their heads, so that the pupils face inwards. When this has been done, they become real ghosts (*kemoit*) and are entitled to pluck the flowers of the *Mapik*-tree, and to eat its fruits; for it bears everything desirable, one branch beautiful flowers, another rice, a third durians, a fourth rambutan-fruits, and so on; furthermore at the base of its trunk are numbers of breasts from which flow milk, and to these the ghosts of little children set their lips.

The spirits of the wicked, however, are set apart in another place, which is in sight of the abode of the good. They call to the spirits in *Belet* to help them to reach the *Mapik*-tree, but the latter take no notice.

The above account was given to me by Tōkeh. I tried to learn something from the Negritos of Grik with regard to the abode of the dead, but they either have very few beliefs concerning an existence after death, or would not tell me about them. All the information that I could obtain was that the souls of the dead went to the west, but whether their state was happy, or the reverse, they said that they did not know.

The Shaman.

The name for the Shaman among the Negritos of the Ulu Selama region is *halak*, a term which is in general use also among the Sakai. Tōkeh said that there were no *halaks* in the settlement near the Damak River, but a local Malay told me subsequently that Tōkeh was one himself. Whether what the Malay said was true or not, I do not know, but Tōkeh got up a magical performance for me, in which he took no active part, to show me how such things were conducted. A little "medicine-hut" (*panoh*)[2] was built by planting the petioles of a number of palm-leaves in a circle of holes which had been previously made with a pointed stick. The *panoh* was supported by a slight wooden prop, which was driven into the earth so as to lean at the same angle as the walls of

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[1] *Belet* appears to lie rather in the west-north-west, or in the north-west, rather than due west. *Cf.*, perhaps, *kiblat* of the Mohamedans.

[2] The second syllable is pronounced with a very nasal accent.

the hut. The leaves were bound together not far below their tops, and the support included with them. A small opening was left at the base of the hut in one place, through which a man could just pass into the interior. The performance took place at night, and when the "*Halak*" had ensconced himself in the hut—which was only just big enough to hold him—a number of other Negritos came and squatted round it. Thereupon the occupant started a chant, each line of which was taken up and repeated by the chorus outside. I noted that the names of Tapern, Jalong, and Jamoi, were constantly mentioned, as was also the *Batu Herem*. The chants, of which there were a good many, were short, and between them there was a silence of a minute or two, broken sometimes by the hut being shaken from the inside, followed by a noise as if the "*Halak*" was striking the palm-leaf walls with the flat of his hand. These signs indicated the presence of the *Halak's* spirit, though in this case, as Tōkeh explained, it was only acting for my benefit. On the next day I got him to give me the names of some of the chants, these being as follows:—

1. "WAI CHENTOL!"

This means "Open comb-flowers!" and refer to the flowers affixed to Jalang's hair-comb. Negrito women decorate their bamboo combs with sweet-smelling herbs and flowers. The allusion is, I understand, to these, and not to the patterns engraved on the combs. (Both a pattern and a flower are commonly termed *bunga* in Malay, in which language, of course, I communicated with the Negritos).

2. "UMEH, UMEH BATU!"

This is said to mean, "Clean, clean the stone!" It is addressed, I was told, to the stone spirit, the stone referred to being the *Batu Herem*.

3. "WAI, HALAK, MAWAI!"
"Open, Halak, open!"

4. "TENANG LOHR PUNYON HEREM!"

I was told that this means, "Come down to the tongue of the *Batu Herem*!" The "tongue" of the *Batu Herem* appears to be the end on which the detatched portion rests.

5. "TENWUG KEJUH SELANGIN."

"The (bead) string across (the chest of) the beautiful young bachelor." A *tenwug manik* is a string of beads worn across the breast, while *kejuh* seems to mean "a young male" and *selangin* "beautiful."

6. "CHEM-LE-CHEM, SUDAK HEREM!"

This was said to mean "Stabbing and thrusting, sharp Herem!" The Malay words used to translate *chem-le-chem* were *tikam menikam*.

As far as I could gather, however, the words which are chanted are varied according to the taste of the *halak*. There were references in the chants that I heard to rolling up the mats (*leb gampil*) of Tapern, to the winding and unwinding of the cord round the thunder-stone (*menang sini jon*, "cord wind pull (?)"), to the place where the sun sets, to the Chenoi, and to Jamoi. Tōkeh told me that office of *halak* descends from father to son, the familiar spirit being, of course, also inherited. Fireflies (*kedlud*) are, he said, the familiars of *halaks* (*pengkah halak*).

Dreams.

Dreams among the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien are believed to convey warnings of good or evil fortune to come. For instance, a man who dreams of rubbing himself with oil will not go out into the jungle on the next day, as, if he does so, he thinks that he will be struck by a falling tree. A dream that a *bĕrok*-monkey is attacking the sleeper indicates that a Malay will come to the camp and make trouble. To dream of holding a winnowing-tray means that a soft-tortoise will be caught on the next day, while to dream of finding a half cocoanut-shell indicates that a tortoise, of the kind which the Malays call *kura kura*, will be captured. Should a man dream of a tree falling towards the east, he will be taken by a tiger if he goes to the jungle on the following day [1]; while should he have a dream that he is distributing tobacco he will shoot a monkey with his blow-pipe. If a married man dreams that he is wearing a ring or bracelet of silver, his wife will give birth to a male child; if a ring or bracelet of *suasa* (an alloy of copper and go'd), a female; but should he dream that the bracelet or ring gets broken while he is wearing it, the child will die.[2] To have an unlucky dream is called *pahad empak*, this being equivalent to the Malay *salah mimpi*.

Oaths.

The form of oath in use among the Negritos seems to be very similar to that of some of the Sakai tribes, and of certain Indonesians. A man who is swearing to the truth of some statement will say, "If I lie—

dok	*teiok*	*makab*	*yek;*
may	tiger	eat	me;
dok	*ki-ung*	*machong*	*yek!*"
may	rotten-branch	strike	me!"

[1] Tōkeh stayed at home for a day while I was stopping near his camp, because of a dream of this kind.

[2] The Malays of the Ulu Selama seem to have somewhat similar ideas with regard to dreams about rings and bracelets; so these beliefs may, very likely, have been adopted from them.

A Love-spell.

This is to be said over oil which contains *chenduai*-flowers. The oil is to be smeared on the body or clothes of the woman whose affection it is desired to gain.

Lŏd lŏd bĕkot.
Jĕd lŏd ĕd ĕk.
Kêlhek langod.
S'leman kentan.
Balok wag hilag.
Hertik kedong sayong.
Sog mohr takob.
Beb-tob teheu bim.
S'naian bleuk kom.
Chom pales sūk.

I was unable to get any translation of this formula, and as far as I could make out its language is archaic,[1] of the following words, however, I got the meanings :—

Bekot	flower.	*Takob*	hole (of nose) (?)
Ed	skin (?) of stomach.	*Beb-tob*	knock (?).
Ek	stomach.	*Teheu*	water.
Kilhek	flower of a certain kind.	*Bim*	come (?).
Hertik	tail.	*S'naian*	time (Mal. *ketika*).
Kedong	rat.	*Kom*	frog.
Sog	hair.	*Balak*	ivory.
Suk	,,	*S'leman*	Solomon.
Mohr	nose.	*Bleuk*	thigh.

The Bird-Soul and Birth Customs.

My evidence with regard to these subjects was gathered from Tōkeh. It appears that a certain kind of bird, which is called *Til-tol-tapah*,[2] is thought to announce the impending arrival of a child. Thus, if a *Til-tol-tapah* is heard calling, the Negritos immediately say that one of their women, or the wife of some Malay, is about to become pregnant. A bird of this species had been in the neighbourhood just before my arrival, and the tribesmen were, therefore, waiting for the fulfilment of its prophecy. Tōkeh spoke of the *Til-tol-tapah*—which he said he had never seen, but only heard—as being the *bayang* (Malay), or shadow, of all the Negrito women, and also referred to it as the *semangat bidan* (Malay) or midwife's soul. Another bird the *Chim-oi* is also thought to convey similar intimations by means of its cry.

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[1] Skeat also found that it was difficult to get the Negritos to translate their magic formulas into Malay, owing to the use of archaic phrases or words. *Vide Pagan Races*, vol. II, pp. 232, 233

[2] I have not been able to identify this bird, but I believe that it is small. Tōkeh told me that the Malays call it *Kangkang katup*. Vaughan Stevens says that the *Til-til-tapa* (*sic*) is the smaller Argus-pheasant. He calls the *Chim-oi* "*Chim-iui*." "Pagan Races," vol. II, p. 217.

For ten days after giving birth, as I was told, a woman must not step into water, nor may she eat salt, fish, or flesh. The flesh of the bamboo-rat is especially tabued, as, if she were to eat it, her child's face would grow into a resemblance of that of the rodent.

While pregnant, too, a woman must not go out during "hot rain" (*i.e.* rain with sunshine), fetch water in the late afternoon or evening, or go to the hills alone. If she breaks the last prohibition, she will meet a tiger and be devoured.

Henweh.

Henweh is a disastrous thunderstorm accompanied by floods of rain, lightning, and possibly by welling up of water from under the earth. Such storms, known among Sakai tribes as *terlaik* or *terlain*, are sent as punishment if anybody does any act which is particularly offensive to the gods, and they involve the death of the offender and his relatives, and the swallowing up of his home by the earth. The following story which I got from Tōkeh, illustrates these ideas very well. It may be noted that such actions as copying the notes of certain birds are—both among the Sakai and the Negritos—thought to be particularly displeasing to the Powers Above.

Some Negrito children once copied the note of a *Sagwong*-bird,[1] and there came thunder and lightning and a great flood, and all the Negritos there were drowned, with the exception of one *halak*, who managed to make his escape. For this reason the *Sagwong* and the *Chorh* must not be copied till the present day. Yak Lepeh, Yak Manoid and Yak Takel made the waters rise from under the earth.

Tōkeh said that legendary sites of several old Negrito encampments, which are said to have been overwhelmed in this manner, are still pointed out in the neighbourhood of Ijok. For fear of *Henweh*, it is also forbidden for a man and a woman to have sexual intercourse in the camp—an act which particularly enrages Tapern. They must retire to the jungle for the purpose. As far as I could find out, no such prohibition is found among the Negritos of Grik, though, for the same reason, sexual intercourse is not indulged in during the daytime.

Tabued Days.

Among the Menik Kaien, Tōkeh told me, the sixteenth day of any month is tabu, and anyone who does work on it will meet with some misfotune, such as being struck by a falling tree, bitten by a snake, stung by a scorpion, or eaten by a tiger. Tabued days are called *Hai*[2] *biak membeh-ud*,

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[1] Said to be the bird known to the Malays as *Burong sa 'kawan* (*Anthaco-ceros malayanus*).

[2] Probably the same word as the Malay *hari*. Some of the Negritos

"day not lucky." An old man, Tōkeh said, keeps count of the days of the month up to the sixteenth. I believe that this custom does not obtain among the Kīntak Bong.

The Grik Negritos told me that at the season when the jungle fruits are ripe rejoicings and feasting go on for one or two nights, the Spirit of the Sun (*Hantu Mad-yis*) and the wood spirits (*Hantu Nĕhuk*) being prayed to in songs, while the fruit-trees are asked not to send sickness, nor to make the people fall while climbing. After the rejoicings there is a three days' tabu-period, when work is not allowable.

Two Social Tabus.

Among the Menik Kaien and Kintak Bong it is tabu for a man to speak to his mother-in-law, and among the former, probably also among the latter, for him to mention his brother-in-law by name.

The Giving of Names.

As do most, if not all, of the Negrito tribes, the Menik Kaien and the Kintak Bong generally give their children names from the species of trees, or from the rivers, near which they were born. My friend Tōkeh, for instance, was named after a kind of bamboo, while another man, known among the Negritos as Doin (a fan-palm; *Livistona cochinchinensis*), was for some reason called Tebu (sugar-cane) by the Malays.

The Herald of Small-pox.

At the time that I visited the Negritos of the Dámak valley, they were considerably troubled about an outbreak of small-pox in a Malay village a few miles away, this disease being, with good reason, very much dreaded by them, since it has occasionally almost exterminated whole tribes. They said that the advent of small-pox is announced by an insect called *Imong*—a kind of cicada, as far as I could find out—and that they had heard its note before the outbreak in question had occurred.

Some Customs and Prohibitions with regard to Marriage.

It seems that, with the exception of a feast, there is no marriage ceremony among the Kintak Bong and the Menik Kaien. I was told by Tōkeh that a man's relations generally search for a wife for him, while engagements seem to be occasionally entered into before the girl is of a ripe age; thus it was said one of the men was betrothed to a girl in the settlement near the Damak River, but that she would not be ready for

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do not, or cannot, pronounce the letter *r*. We thus have *kari* (*kareh*) or *kaii*, *darah* (Malay) and *daiah* (Negrito pronunciation), etc.

marriage for about another two rice-seasons. Divorce seems to be not unusual among the Kintak Bong, but, according to two Grik Negritos, it is not common among their people. Exogamy among the Menik Kaien and Kintak Bong seems to be very usual, but rarer, if my informants are to believed, among the Grik aborigines. I was able to gather very little information about the prohibited degrees with regard to marriage among the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien, but Tōkeh told me that a man might not marry the wife of his deceased brother, and also that marriage between first cousins was forbidden.

Food-Tabus.

The Menik Kaien and Kintak Bong have a prejudice, it can scarcely be said to amount to a tabu, against certain kinds of food, among them the flesh of buffaloes and fowls, and the eggs of hens, but there appear to be also certain tabus connected with the eating of flesh of any kind. Thus Tōkeh told me that it was not allowable to reduplicate the names of certain animals or fish when they are being eaten —I could not get a very clear explanation of the matter—and it is thus wrong to refer to a fish called *betok* as *betok balok*. If anyone did so he, or she, would suffer from severe intestinal disturbance.

Musical Performances.

Musical performances, in which the singing is accompanied with bamboo stampers, are frequently held by the Kintak Bong. These are, I believe, at least partly performed with a religious intention, since Tōkeh said that the people sang to the spirits of the banana and of gourd-plants. A performance of the kind was organized for my benefit and the following are the names of some of the songs which were sung :—

Bah Tangoi, The Rambutan-fruit song.
Bah Tepas, The Tepas-fruit song.
Bah Changeh, The song of the *Arang-para* fruit.
Bah Sempak, The song of the wild Durian (*Durian burong*).
Bah Limus, The song of the Horse-mango.
Bah Kabang, The song of the *Rambutan Kabang*.
Bah Penig, The song of the *Durian Kampong* fruit (the cultivated durian).

Burial Customs.

I obtained the following account of burial customs from Tōkeh, but as I did not see either a burial or a grave, perhaps not too much reliance should be placed upon it.

A corpse is buried in a side-chamber dug in the right-

hand[1] wall of the excavation. It lies on its right side with the legs drawn up. The orientation of the grave is such that the head of the corpse points towards the north-west. A woman's grave is dug to a depth of her height from her feet to her breasts; that of a man to a depth of his measurement from feet to eyebrows. Burial offerings (*pĕnitok*)[2] of food and tobacco are placed in the grave in front of the corpse's throat, and, if the body is that of a man, two little wooden objects (*telak*),[3] decorated with patterns rudely drawn with charcoal, are planted against the body; one of these, the smaller of the two, the *telak dawit*, or left-hand *telak*, is, I understand, always placed at the left of the body near the shoulder; the other, the larger, which is called *telak dateng*, or right-hand *telak*, on the right of the body, and near that part of it in which the disease from which the man died made itself manifest. I was also told that three little pieces of wood,[4] striped with yellow and red, are sometimes set on the top of the grave, one at the head, one at the foot, and one in the middle. These, of which I obtained models, are shaped very much like the tip-cats with which English schoolboys sometimes play a game.

A shelter is, it appears, built over a grave and into the thatch of this are pushed four pieces of white wood each about a foot long, by seven-eighths of an inch broad and an eighth of an inch in depth.[5] They are roughly decorated with charcoal, one side being marked with horizontal bars, and the other with rude cross-hatching: two of them are placed at one end of the shelter, and two at the other. Their purpose is to prevent the return of the souls of the dead to their homes, though Tōkeh told me that they were powerless to restrain those of the wicked. Presumably, therefore, they act as notices to the ghosts of the good, telling them that they must not visit their surviving relatives.

When burying a corpse, the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien say:—

Chub-deh[6] *kasing:*
Go first:
Yek tekoh.
I afterwards.
Yinket eg ujan;[7]
Do not give rain;
Yinket eg ibud (Mal. *ribut*);
Do not give storms;

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1 When the spectator is facing the foot of the grave.
2 *Cf.* the *pĕnitŏk* of Vaughan Stevens (*Pagan Races*, vol. II, pp. 93, 217).
3 I obtained models of these from Tōkeh.
4 Equivalent to the Malay grave-stones (*batu nisan*).
5 I obtained models of these.
6 The Malay equivalent of *chub-deh* was given as *perge-lah*.
7 *Ujan* is a Malay word.

Yinket eg kilad[1] *kaii.*
Do not give lightning thunder.

The Grik Negritos told me that under similar circumstances they said :—

Chub kikuie;
Go first;
Ik nungyeup.
I afterwards.

With regard to two phrases, said to be used at burials, which I got on a former occasion from the Negritos of Grik and Temengoh,[2] there seems to be some doubt. Sapi, a Grik Negrito who gave me one of them, had left the district, so I could not question him again. His formula was "*Du! Du! Yak!*" which he said meant "Go! Go! Hear!" A man whom I met at Grik in 1918, however, said that it should be "*Dut! dut! yak!*" ("Fill in, Fill in (*i.e.* bury), Grandmother") while a Jehehr phrase "*Bai! Dun! Dun! Dun! Di-prak!*" he said should be "*Bai! Dut! Dut! Dut! Diprak!*" ("Dig! Fill in! Leave!").

Among the Kintak Bong and the Menik Kaien, when a death occurs in a camp, its inhabitants at once remove to another site, since they are afraid that the soul of the dead person may return, though sometimes, I understand, they erect their new shelters not far from the old spot. They live in fear of the spirit for seven days,[3] during which period it is at liberty. At the end of that time Mampes, the guardian of the *Balam Bacham*, is thought to come and take it away. He, as I stated above, eats the burial offerings (*penitok*)[4] which the ghosts carry with them, and inspects the *telak*, which appear to act as credentials, that are buried with the bodies of males. When a woman dies, the other females in the camp are prohibited from wearing flowers and other decorations for seven days, until her soul has gone to *Belet*. On the expiration of seven days after a death, a singing performance (*peningtoin*) takes place. In this Mampes is called upon to come and take away the soul of the dead person.

Patterns on Combs and Dart-quivers.

Though I absolutely failed to find any evidence among the Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien that the patterns on the bamboo combs which are worn by the women have any magical meaning or use, this was not so in the case of the dart-quivers. With regard to these latter, Tōkeh said that

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[1] *Kilad* = Malay *kilat.*
[2] *Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, vol. VI, pp. 204, 207.
[3] The Grik Negritos are also afraid of the ghost's return during the first seven days after a death has occurred.
[4] *Vide foot-note*, p. 6 *supra.*

they assisted the hunters, for, if there were no patterns on the quivers, the game would be frightened and run away, but as they are decorated with patterns of rice, gourds teeth of the *lotong* (leaf-monkey), etc., the souls of the animals are not afraid.

II. FURTHER NOTES ON THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF PAHANG.

By Ivor H. N. Evans, *M.A.*

In a former volume [1] of this *Journal* I have dealt with some of the aborigines of the State of Pahang. In the present number I treat of tribes, or parts of tribes, which I encountered on a journey of about two and a half months' duration made in June, July and August, 1917. The first month of this expedition was chiefly devoted to cave-exploration, but I managed to see something of three aboriginal groups who were living near the Tekam River, and to gather a little information about the Sakai-Jakun of the Krau River: the last was passed on the Rompin and Endau Rivers. At the former I spent my time in collecting articles made by the Jakuns who live in that neighbourhood, and in finding out what I could about their customs; at the latter I was occupied partly in working among the Malays, partly among the Jakuns.

The Tekam River District.

In this area I spent a few days on a large aboriginal clearing, which was situated not very far above Kuala Tekam, and about half to three-quarters of a mile from the Benta-Kuantan Road. This was inhabited by two sets of people, one composed of Sakai-Jakun from Kemaman, being a portion of the same tribe that I met on the Tekai River in 1913—and including an old acquaintance—; another a settlement of Bera Sakai-Jakun, or rather of Sea-Dyaks *plus* Bera Sakai-Jakun, since two Kelekak Dyaks were the nucleus round which the party had grown. These two had originally, I believe, been gutta-percha hunters, who, coming to the country as quite young men, had taken wives to themselves from among the Bera tribe. The population of their settlement consisted then of themselves, their wives, and a number of offspring—one or two of the latter being young men of from nineteen to twenty-five years of age,—and a few Bera people of unmixed blood. The young half-breeds were extremely intelligent, and, with the exception of two who suffered from *kurap*, of pleasing appearance. Two of the men had been decorated by their father with Dyak tattooing, the patterns being mostly of the variety called *Bunga tĕrong* (brinjal flowers). I was induced to visit the Tekam River by a story

[1] Vol. V, pp. 192–219. *Vide* also vol. VII, pp. 113 and 114.

that there were Pangan in the district, told me at Kuala Krau by a Malay named Woh, who produced a very dark-skinned youth as a sample of what he could show me. This man had trading relations with the Kemaman aborigines. The third group that I visited were living in the jungle on the other side of the river. They were very primitive people, natives of the Tekam Valley, who spoke a Sakai dialect, but were mainly of Jakun type.

I was informed that there was another aboriginal camp very much further up the Tekam River and the people of this were claimed by the Tekam Sakai-Jakun as being their friends and relations. It was to this up-stream settlement that Siti, the dark-skinned youth, whom I had met at Kuala Krau, belonged. Possibly there may be an admixture of Negrito blood among these people, but nothing of the kind is observable among their down-stream friends.

I found that my Malay guide applied the term "Pangan" to any of the wilder tribes. The word which to his mind denoted a Negrito was "Batek," the name used by, or applied to, the true Negritos of the Cheka River.[1]

The Bera Tribe.

These notes on the customs and beliefs of the Bera people were obtained from one of the young half-bloods mentioned above. I made it clear to him that I did not want to hear anything about Dyak usages; and he replied that he could not tell me about them, if I did, as his father followed the Bera people in all such matters. His evidence, as far as I am able to check it against material obtained in other districts, seems quite reliable.

According to the legends of the Bera Sakai-Jakun the souls of the dead go to the underworld, which is governed by two beings called *Gayak*, a male and a female. The underworld is like that above, but the trees there bear fruit in abundance all the year round.

A settlement appears, as a general rule, to be deserted when a death occurs.

The ghosts of the newly dead are said to return to their old homes and may be heard complaining if there is no rice and water for them. If they are not exorcised, they will cause sickness among their surviving relatives.

The Bera people think, as do the Senoi, that storms involving the destruction of villages and their inhabitants can be brought about by breaking certain tabus. These disastrous and man-caused storms, known as *terlain* (*terlaik* among the Senoi), are thought to be brought on by imitating (when heard) the notes of three species of birds, which I

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[1] *Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, vol. V, pp. 193–204.

could not identify, the *Ngat-ngok*, the *Terkul* [1] and the *Patuit*; by burning lice in the fire; or teasing cats, dogs, or tame monkeys. A female being named *Ger-ang-ah* is said to watch for infraction of these tabus and, on seeing someone commit an offence against them, to inform her father, *Itai Malim*, who punishes the tabu-breakers by sending one of these storms of rain, thunder, and lightning accompanied by a subsidence of the ground, which swallows up their houses.

The *punan* beliefs, which I have referred to in several previous numbers of this *Journal* as being found among various aboriginal tribes, are also held by the Bera Sakai-Jakun.

I have never yet been able quite to make up my mind whether the taking of the rice-soul, among the tribes which perform that ceremony, is a truly indigenous custom, or whether it has been borrowed from the Malays.

It must be remembered that the Negritos—the most primitive inhabitants of the Peninsula—do not normally plant rice, or carry on agricultural operations of any kind, and that some of the less civilised Jakun or Sakai-Jakun tribes of Pahang plant only root-crops (*Caladium*, etc.).

The question consequently arises whether the planting of hili-rice by the true Sakai and by various mixed tribes is a recent innovation.

In this connection it is, perhaps, worthy of note that the tendency generally seems to be for such rice as is planted to be consumed quickly after harvest, and regard as somewhat of a luxury, while the root-crops, and especially *caladium*, are regarded as the mainstay of life.

Possibly, however, rice-planting may have been adopted from the civilised people who invaded the Peninsula from the North long before the advent of the Malays. To quote *Pagan Races*:—"Mr. Bladgen has shown that there are several non-Malay aboriginal names for rice in the Peninsula, and this fact, coupled with the existence of varieties of the grain special to the aborigines, and with the generally aboriginal character of the harvest-rites argues against such words being borrowed from the civilised (Mohammedan) Malays." [2]

Whatever may be the truth of the matter, the taking of rice-soul is performed by some, though not all, of the aboriginal tribes.

My informant told me that, among the Bera people, the rice-souls, consisting of seven ears, are cut by the *Poyang* (magician) of the tribe after general reaping is finished. He carries them to the house in his arms, as if they were children, and walk slowly and carefully so as not to disturb them. On arrival there, they are placed in a basket and covered with a

[1] Possibly a Trogon. It is said to have red plumage.
[2] "Pagan Races," vol. I, p. 340.

mat. Noises must not be made in the house for three days for fear of frightening the rice-souls away, and, in order to prevent their escaping, thorny stems of the brinjal-plant are placed on the threshold of the house for three days. Rice is left in the cooking-pots for their benefit, and the necks of the pots are tied up with cord made from the bark of the *tĕrap*-tree (*Artocarpus Kunstleri*).[1]

The *Poyang* is supposed to call seven rice-souls from the lower world, one to take possession of each ear of rice.

At the time of the next sowing the rice-souls are pounded to flour and sprinkled over the crop in the fields.

The following information is fragmentary, but is interesting for purposes of comparison with evidence regarding beliefs and customs from other parts of the country.

At rice-sowing the fourth day from that on which the operation is started is a rest-day.

In making a new clearing the people work for three days at cutting away the undergrowth, and then rest for a day for the "knife-blade tabu" (*pantang mot wei*). Similarly after three days spent in felling the large trees there is another rest-day for the "adze-blade tabu" (*pantang mot bĕliong*).

Magical performances among the Bera people, are, I am told, kept up until the fowls leave their perches in the early morning.

The Bera people practise circumcision, and sometimes call in a Malay to perform the operation.

The Kemaman Sakai-Jakun.

At the time of my visit these people were living in some wretched little huts in the jungle close to their clearing. Some of them had been persuaded by their Malay master to build houses in the open, but they had mostly deserted these for quarters in the shade, declaring that they could not bear the heat of the sun. They told me that their clearing was not held as common property, but that each man had his own plot, which was marked off by posts. One man of the settlement, the *Pĕnghulu*, was lying sick in a hut built on rather tall poles. He was suffering from fever, though he had, I believe, some other, and more serious, complaint. I was not allowed to go up into the hut to examine him as he had been undergoing treatment by the *Poyang*—my old acquaintance from the Tekai River—and nobody who had been absent from the *séances* was allowed to enter for seven days from the date on which they had been held.

These had taken place in a wall-less hut close by, the *Poyang* sitting on a mat while chanting his spells. A musical accompaniment was played on a most primitive kind of stringed

[1] This, I imagine, is also intended to prevent the rice-soul escaping.

instrument, which I saw and photographed. This was a rectangular frame made from four small branches of trees, with the ends of a couple projecting downwards to form feet. A mat was enclosed in the frame and was held in position by being slipped between rattan strings in pairs, which ran vertically, and were attached to the framework at top and bottom. A stick, for tightening the strings, was pushed between them at the top and passed behind the uprights of the frame. To play this instrument the performer squats facing the frame, which is usually propped against a timber of the hut, and pulls and releases the strings on the exposed face so as to make a "ticker-tack" noise on the mat.

Though the people were not particularly communicative with regard to their affairs, I was able to gather a few rather interesting scraps of information with regard to their beliefs.

They are very much afraid of thunderstorms, especially if accompanied by high winds, for on such occasions they think that the ghosts of the dead embark in boats and set sail in the sky, travelling from the west towards the east. The light gleaming on the varnish of their boats is seen on earth as lightning.

The belief in disastrous and village-destroying storms, caused by the infraction of tabus, is found among the Kemaman people as among the Bera Sakai-Jakun.

For fear of such storms it is forbidden to burn lice in the fire, or to dress up a monkey and laugh at it.

It is said that a village "above Jeram" on the Pahang River was once swallowed up because a storm-tabu had been broken, only a single post being left to mark its former site.

With regard to *punan* beliefs, I was told that, if food is offered to anyone, but not wanted, the person to whom it was offered must take a little and rub it between the thumb and first finger of one hand, or on the inner side of the big toe. Sometimes both thumbs and both big toes are treated in this manner.

The Kemaman aborigines said that they did not practise circumcision.

The Tekam Tribe.

These people, as I have mentioned above, were living in the jungle on the south bank of the Tekam River. They had a very small clearing, which was planted with *Caladium*, and their tiny huts,[1] only slightly raised above the ground, and wretched in the extreme, were huddled together in a circle.

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[1] The walls of the huts were of tree-bark. The floors, or rather sleeping platforms built up within the huts, did not in all cases cover the whole space enclosed by the walls, a piece of bare ground being left towards the front of which the family fire was lighted, this being often kindled close against the edge of the platform, or floor, in order to keep the inhabitants warm at night.

One of their womenkind was suckling a very beautiful little leaf-monkey of the species which the Malays call *chěneka*. This was perfectly at home with its foster-mother, and when in need of nourishment went to her and pulled down her *sarong*, which was girt up under the armpits, in order to get at her breasts.

On my asking the people what was the name of their tribe they replied, "*Orang Bĕrbahan*" which means "wood-cutters." They had in their houses two or three two-piece wooden blowpipes which they would not sell. These they told me were not made by themselves, but by the tribesmen of the Merchong and Lepar Rivers. Their dialect, I was told, is almost the same as that of the Kemaman people. They do not move away from the vicinity of the Tekam.

They said that they deserted the bodies of the dead, leaving them lying in the huts, since they were frightened of their ghosts. They agree with the Kemaman people in not practising circumcision.

I noticed that Siti, the boy from the Ulu Tekam, who was living with the Kemaman tribe at the time of my visit, had had his ears bored for ear-rings, but that none of the other male aborigines that I met had undergone this operation. I asked him the reason for this, and he replied that his mother had had several male children before his birth, but that all of them had died. She, therefore, said that should she have another male child, she would pretend that it was a girl in order that it might survive. So when he was born his mother had his ears pierced, as if he were a girl.

In connection with Siti, I heard of a case of attempted revenge due to jealousy, which is, I believe rather unusual among the aboriginal tribes of the Peninsula. A Kemaman man and his wife had separated. After a while news reached the husband that Siti was on rather too familiar terms with the woman. He, therefore, armed himself with a spear and appeared on the scene to search for Siti, but was restrained by Woh, who represented to him that, as he had divorced his wife, he had no cause for complaint, but that if he was still fond of her he had better take her back again. This he did, but I noticed that if the husband was away from home, Siti was constantly at the house.

The Krau River Tribe.

I had no opportunity of visiting any of the aboriginal settlements on the Krau River, my intercourse with these people being limited to conversations held with various members of the tribe who came into Kuala Krau to buy rice, salt fish, tobacco, *etc.*, while I was staying there.

The Krau people are a mixed tribe, who speak a Sakai dialect. They practise circumcision, and I was told that

Malay *mudin* are often called in to perform the operation. Tattooing is known to them, and I saw one man who was decorated with a large crescentic mark in the middle of the forehead—the crescent being disposed with both horns upwards—and a single line on each cheek-bone. This was true tattooing. At Kuala Krau, too, I observed the only instance of decoration by scarification that I have ever yet seen among any of our aboriginal tribes. The youth in question had two parallel scars follwing the line of each cheek-bone. At first sight I thought that the marks, which were faint, had been made by the temporary application of the juice of some plant—not an uncommon practice among some tribes—but on making an examination and questioning the boy and his companions—older men than himself—I was told that they were permanent and were made in the following way. The juice of the Horse Mango (*machang*) tree is applied to the skin wherever it is wished to leave marks This has a burning effect, and when the wound made by it has begun to heal under the toughened gummy juice, the scab with the gum adhering to it is stripped off, and a permanent scar results. Both tattooing proper and scarification are termed *naian*.

I had little or no opportunity to go deeply into the question of the Krau tribe's customs or beliefs, and the only point worth recording that I elicited was that the price paid to a girl's father for her hand in marriage was twenty old worn-out spears, "*dua-puloh batang lĕmbing yang burok*," as my informant told me in Malay.

A story of an unapproachable tribe, which is said to dwell round the headwaters of the Krau, especially in the neighbourhood of the Lompat River, is of considerable interest. I believe that the Batek (Negritos) of the Ulu Cheka sometimes wander into this district—they told me that they did themselves—but I obtained stories of a much wilder people from Woh, my Malay friend, and also from two of the Krau Valley aborigines. The wild people the latter call *Cho-ben* or *Jo-ben*, and they are said to use fragments of stone or sharpened stones as implements. Woh, indeed, told me that he came upon one of their camps, which had been deserted at his approach, and found there pieces of stone with which they had been cutting thatch (*atap*). One of the Krau aborigines said that the *Cho-ben* used stones fixed in the ends of sticks[1] to dig with, and that their knives were made of bamboo. There is also a story that the Krau Sakai once captured a woman of this wild tribe, who was surprised while climbing a tree to obtain its fruit.[2]

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[1] I showed two stone implements to the Krau men asking them what they were, but they did not recognise them as being made by the *Cho-ben*. They said that they were thunderbolts.

[2] I was told that she made her escape on the morning after her capture.

Now I do not think that it would be wise to give too much credence to these stories, since it is well known what wonderful tales are told by both Malays and aborigines—especially by the former—about far-off tribes, which generally prove without foundation when the tribes in question are visited; yet there are one or two points in them which are worth consideration.

I am gradually coming to the conclusion that some, at any rate, of the stone implements found in the Peninsula are not of any great age, and it seems that there is just a possibility that very remote tribes may still use them, or at any rate use chips of stone, for various purposes. The fact that legends of tribes still employing such implements have been previously recorded by de Morgan and Hale tends to show that even if it is not true that there are any tribes who are still practically in the stone age at the present day; yet there were at a date not so remote but that stories with regard to their existence are still current. I shall have occasion, however, to refer to the matter again, when dealing with the results of the exploration of caves at Gunong Sennyum and in the neighbourhood of Pulau Tawar.

The Rompin Jakun.

While staying on the Rompin River I paid visits to two Jakun settlements, one on the river-bank at a place called Barop, above Pintas Limou, the other a little inland from the Malay village of Gading. I collected a large number of ethnographical specimens from the Jakun, but with the exception of blow-pipes, which I deal with in another section of this paper, most of them were articles of Malay type and therefore not particularly worthy of note.

The Jakun village near Gading was situated in a large clearing planted with *Caladium*, while I also noticed some pineapples and gourds growing there. Rice, I was told, was not cultivated. The Jakun themselves were not a prepossessing set of people, many of them suffering from *kurap* and elephantiasis. Their houses did not present any great peculiarities, being small huts, generally one-roomed, and well raised from the ground.

The Jakun settlement at Barop had been made by rattan-gatherers, working for a Chinaman, whose boat was moored close by. It consisted of two huts; one—belonging to a Merchong Jakun—built on extremely tall poles; the other a wretched little hovel with the floor about a foot from the ground.

The Merchong man was the only male in the settelement at the time of my visit, the others being out in the jungle.

Parties of Jakun, however, frequently passed up and down the river in boats; some going down-stream to sell

rattans, or in search of rice and salt, others returning home from similar expeditions.

The magician (*Poyang*) among the Rompin Jakun uses a switch of *palas* leaves in calling his Familiar Spirit. Small tambourines made out of half a coconut-shell covered over with the skin of some kind of fish are beaten during the performance of these magical rites.

I was told that the bodies of dead *Poyangs* are placed on platforms and that their spirits go up to the sky, while those of ordinary people, whose bodies are buried, go to the underworld.

When a death occurs in a village, the houses and the clearing in which they stand are said to be deserted for from ten to fifteen days, the friends and relatives of the dead person being afraid of the ghost. A house in which a death has taken place is usually not re-occupied.

One of the Jakun whom I met on the Rompin told me that bodies of dead are buried lying on their backs with their heads pointing to the east. If this is correct, it is rather curious, as the Endau Jakun seem to bury their dead with their heads pointing to the west, which is, I believe, a much more usual position.

Circumcision, the Jakun said, was not practised by them.

The Endau Jakun.

I visited two aboriginal settlements in the Endau District, one being situated on a tributary of the Endau River, the Anak Endau, which debouches into it on the Pahang side not far from its mouth, the other close to Kuala Kumbar, which is also on the Pahang side of the river and some distance above Pianggu village. The Jakun on the Anak Endau were fairly clean, both on their persons and houses, while those of Kuala Kumbar were horribly filthy, the decencies of life, with regard to sanitary matters, being absolutely neglected. The most interesting thing that I noticed in the Kuala Kumbar settlement was that the Jakun had recently captured—by means of birdlime—and were taming, numbers of green paroquets (*Palæornis longicauda*). A few of these birds were also kept as pets in the village on the Anak Endau. The huts of the Kumbar people were, with one exception, which was built on rather high piles, only raised a little from the ground, and several of them had no walling in front. those of the Anak Endau Jakun were larger and little different from the houses of the poorer-class Malays of this part of Pahang

I obtained the following details with regard to customs and beliefs from one of the Anak Endau Jakun.

A man on the birth of his first child (male or female) becomes known as "Father of So-and-so." If his first-born child dies he is called still "Father of So-and-so," provided

that he has another child, the name of the second child being, of course, substituted for that of the first: if, however, he has no other, he is known as *Mantai*. If his wife and all his children die, he is called *Balu*, and, on marrying again, this style is still used until he has a child, when he again becomes "Father of So-and-so." Similarly a woman who is, or has been, married, is known as *Mak Anu* (mother of So-and-so), *Mantai*, or *Balu*. My informant was called Pak Dedup, *i.e.* Father of Dedup.

For seven days after a death nobody must beat drums, trade, or try to collect debts. If a creditor tries to collect a debt during this time, the debt is considered cancelled, and if he asks for his money arrogantly he is fined, now-a-days, I was told, twenty-five dollars, but formerly—one hundred and eight plates.[1]

Circumcision is, I was informed, not practised by the Endau Jakun.[2]

During bad storms rubbish is collected and burnt.

Ujan panas ("hot rain," *i.e.* rain while the sun is shining) is much feared by the Endau Jakun.

Strangers must not visit a man who is being treated for sickness by a *Poyang* and nothing made of iron may be brought into his house, or, if it should be, it must not be taken out again for three days after the *Poyang* has removed the tabu. The length of the tabu period is such as the *Poyang* may decide, and, while it is in force, nobody must break a gourd or a plate in the sick man's house, tap or beat its threshold, or indulge in quarrelling.

Women who are five months gone in pregnancy may not kill animals of any kind, and a husband, whose wife is in this condition, may not kill anything from the time when his wife gives birth until the child is seven days old. When a child is born husband and wife are forbidden to eat the flesh of the Rusa-deer and of two species of mouse-deer (*pĕlandok* and *kanchil*)—the husband till the child is seven days old, and his wife as long as the child is "small." I was told that if the woman were to eat deer's flesh she would go mad, and run wild like a deer.

The marriage ceremony among the Endau Jakun appears to be slight and is said to be ratified by the man and woman eating together from the same plate.

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[1] Judging from what I have seen of the Endau Jakun, such fines, if inflicted, could not be paid. Possibly these amounts might be mentioned as marks of displeasure, but I doubt if the fines can ever have been enforced. The custom of fining so many plates is interesting. *Vide* Logan (*Journ. Ind. Arch.*, vol. I, p 274) who states that among the *Binut* "Binuas" the fine imposed upon a murderer used to be sixty plates.

[2] Logan says that the "Orang Benua" among whom he includes the aborigines of the Endau do not practise circumcision, but make "a single incision or slit." Not knowing of this statement at the time of my visit, I did not enquire into the matter further.

The *Poyang*, as among other tribes, has a Familiar Spirit. My informant gave me the following names of Familiars kept by Poyangs whom he knew:—*Bujang Bĕrawan* (Youth Encircled by Clouds): *Bujang Pĕlangi* (Rainbow Youth), *Rantai Bunga* (Chain of Flowers). *Poyangs* can get their Familiars either by inheritance or by their coming to them in dreams.

I was told that the dead are buried lying face upwards and with their heads pointing to the west. A corpse is protected by fixing seven stakes, which are afterwards covered over with tree-bark, slantwise across the body and just above it, the points of the stakes being driven into the wall of the grave on the left side. Food is placed on the grave on the day of burial, on the morning of the third day after, and again on the morning of the seventh day.

A description of a Jakun grave-mound (with a sketch) has been already given by Hervey, and is quoted by Skeat,[1] but that which I got from the Jakun of the Anak Endau—I did not see a grave—may perhaps be of interest. I was told that a post about five feet high is set up at the foot of the grave. This post has fourteen notches cut in it, seven running up one side, and seven down that opposite. The post is called the *tangga sĕmangat* (soul-ladder), and I was given to understand that the seven ascending notches represent (?) the surviving relations, while the descending notches represent, or are for the use of, the dead man's soul. Two posts called *nisan* (grave-posts) diverging at an angle of about forty-five degrees were, my informant said, set up close together on the top of the grave. This account differs in some particulars from that given by Hervey and from the details shown in his sketch. He calls the notched posts—of which he shows two—*nisan*, and the smaller posts, which according to my account should be *nisan*, he dubs *tangga sĕmangat*. Probably difference of locality may account for the discrepancies, though his notched posts might without much difficulty be taken to be conventional representations of double house-steps, while the small uprights are placed just like Malay grave-posts (*nisan*).

The three most important tribal officers among the Endau Jakun in order of rank are the *Batin*, the *Mĕntĕri* and the *Ju' kĕrah*. The Malay Penghulu of Pianggu said that on the Endau the Jĕnang[2]—an officer found among some Jakun tribes was always a Malay, who was invested by the Sultan with authority over the aborigines.

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[1] *Pagan Races*, vol. II, pp. 114–115. The sketch is also reproduced.

[2] I was told rather an interesting story with regard to Jĕnang Login, the father of the present *Pĕnghulu*. When Logan—he is said to have come in a ship—arrived at Kasik, the people of the village took him and his following for pirates and all ran away into the jungle with the exception of the *Bomor* (doctor); the *Bidan* (midwife) and the *Pĕnghulu's* grandfather and grandmother, the last being in child-bed. The child, a boy, was born just at the time of, or shortly after, Logan's arrival, and was called Login in honour of the event.

A curious complaint was made to the Penghulu of Piang-gu, in my presence, by a Jakun man from the Anak Endau. He stated that all the women of his settlement were frequently seized by a kind of madness—presumably some form of hysteria—and that they ran off singing into the jungle, each woman by herself, and stopped there for several days and nights, finally returning almost naked, or with their clothes all torn to shreds. He said that the first outbreak of this kind occurred a few years ago, and that they were still frequent, one usually taking place every two or three months. They were started by one of the women, whereupon all the others followed suit.

Blowpipes from the Tekam, Krau, and Rompin Districts.

The two-piece wooden blowpipes found in the hands of the aborigines of East and South-East Pahang are particularly interesting since, though a fair number of these weapons have now been obtained for the Federated Malay States Museums, there has not, up to the present, been any very definite information as to who are their makers. Specimens have been obtained from Kuantan, the Tekai Valley, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan, and elsewhere, some of them having evidently been traded far from their place of origin. I saw a blowpipe of this type in the hands of the Bera people and another among the "Orang Berbahan," and, on my questioning the former as to where they were made, they replied that they were manufactured by the tribe living on the Luit River[1] near Lubok Paku.

Wooden blowpipes, too, were fairly common among the Rompin Jakun, and I enquired of them also where these weapons came from. They replied that they were made by the wild tribe—the *Orang Semlai*[2]—which lives at some distance from the Rompin River and towards its source, occupying, I suppose, part at any rate of the country between the Rompin and the Pahang. I was, moreover, told by one man that the Merchong[3] people manufactured them as well. I think, therefore, that it is within this area that most, if not all, of the wooden blowpipes are produced.

I only obtained one specimen on the Endau, and this had been brought from elsewhere. Furthermore, the Endau Jakun

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[1] A tributary of the Pahang in its North bank.

[2] "Orang Semlai" is a term frequently applied by tribes who speak Malay as their mother-tongue to those who speak Sakai dialects. From what I could learn of these people from the Rompin Jakun, I believe them to be a Sakai-speaking tribe, of mixed blood, probably with Proto-Malay (Jakun) characters predominating.

[3] The Merchong River reaches the sea on the East Coast between the Pahang and the Rompin.

whom I met—those near the coast only—told me that they did not make, or use, blowpipes.

From the Kemaman Jakun I bought a bamboo blowpipe with a two-piece outer tube and a spherical mouthpiece made of some kind of rubber, which is almost exactly similar to a specimen—said to be Pangan—that I got from the portion of the same tribe who were living near the Tekai in 1913, and have described in a former number of this *Journal*.[1]

I purchased two bamboo blowpipes and a single quiver from the Krau people. The former, which have conical mouthpieces, differ little from those of the Selangor and Negri Sembilan tribes, except that the outer tubes are made of two pieces, a short length being added to the muzzle-end in each case.

The quiver has a flat-topped cover of rattan basketwork; this also being like some of the quiver-covers made in Selengor.

Vocabularies.

I give below vocabularies obtained from the various tribes that I visited. Those from the Rompin and Endau Rivers contain chiefly non-Malay words. On the former a somewhat full vocabulary was taken, but, as might be expected, the majority of words that I was given were ordinary Malay.

On the Tekam River I was lucky enough to get what appears to be a truly native numeral system extending to ten, and by compounds, sometimes partly Malay, as far as ninety-nine. No non-Malay numerals above seven[2] have, I believe, hitherto been recorded in the Peninsula. It seems, therefore, that we may now add eight (*gentıng*), nine (*gentik*), and ten *mogenor* (*moi-genor*) to the numerals found in Pahang. Compounded from the non-Malay numerals, but no doubt of later origin than the smaller numbers, we have *mah-genor* (20), *'mpek-genor* (30), *mpek-genor-moi* (31), etc., while the last syllables of *moi-blas* (11), *mah-blas* (12), etc. are seemingly of Malay origin.

English-Malay.	Bera Tribe.	Ulu Tekam Tribe. (This vocabulary obtained from Siti).	Krau Tribe.
Head (kĕpala)	koie	koie	koie.
Ear (tĕlinga)	'ntung	untung	entang.
Eye (mata)	mot	mot	mat.
Nose (hidong)	muh	muh	M.[3]

[1] Vol. V, pp. 205–206.

[2] With the exception of doubtful records from the "Semang" (*lunto* eight, *lang* nine) and the "Selangor Sakai" (*ho-it* eight, *hotek* nine) *Pagan Races*, vol. II, p. 191 (Eight) and p. 669 (Nine).

[3] M.= Malay word used.

English-Malay.	Bera Tribe.	Ulu Tekam Tribe. (This vocabulary obtained from Siti).	Krau Tribe.
Nostril (lubang hidong)	liang muh	lubang muh	liang muh.
Cheek (pipi)	meng	meng	M.
Mouth (mulut)	M.	kenut	M.
Lip (bibir)	M.	getuk kenut	?
Tongue (lidah)	lepes	lepes	lentak.
Tooth (gigi)	lemoin	lemoin	lemoin.
Chin (dagu)	M.	jengkok	M.
Neck (leher)	lengek	lengek	lengek.
Shoulder (bahu)	bahok	toptop	bahok.
Arm (lĕngan)	bling	bling	jenes.
Elbow (siku)	M.	M.	M.
Hand (tangan)	ti	ti	ting.
Thumb (ibu tangan)	gaduk ti	'mboi ti	idok ti.
Finger (jari)	jarek	M.	jarek.
Finger-nail (kuku)	ketong cheros	telekok ti	cherewes.
Thigh (paha)	?	beluk	beluk.
Knee (lutut)	kelatong	kaltong	koie karual.
Shin (tulang kĕring)	ji-arng tohor	ji-arng jong	ji-arng jong.
Foot (kaki)	jong	jong	jong.
Heel (tumit)	M.	deldul	kekul.
Sole (tapak kaki)	tapak jong	tapak jong	tapak jong.
Toe (jari kaki)	jarek jong	jari jong	jarek jong.
Breast (dada)	dadak	dening	M.
Back (bĕlakang)	chelorn	chelon	kerok.
Stomach (pĕrut)	lepoit	lepoit	?
Navel (pusat)	M.	paring	?
Blood (darah)	maham	maham	?
Bone (tulang)	ji-arng	ji-arng	?
Skin (kulit)	M.	ge-tuk	ketuk.
Hair (rambut)	shuk	shuk	sok.
Tree (pokok kayu)	koie delong	delong	nihok.
Bough (dahan)	roh	roh	M.
Leaf (daun kayu)	daun delong	shalai delong	s'lak nihok.
Flower (bunga)	bekau	bekau	bukau.
Fruit (buah kayu)	pli	kerbuk	plek.
Bamboo (buloh)	ding	lieu	ding.
Rattan (rotan)	dreh	dreh	sek.
Thorn (duri)	jeralah	jilar	jilak.
Rice (padi)	babar	M.	bah.
,, (bĕras)	M.	M.	rekop.
,, (nasi)	hut.	M.	ran.
Banana (pisang)	tiuk	tiuk	tiuk.
Areca-nut (pinang)	M.	M.	M.
Durian (durian)	M.	sempak	sempak
Tampoi (tĕmpuï)	M.	chieu	M.

ENGLISH MALAY.	BERA TRIBE.	ULU TEKAM TRIBE. (This vocabulary obtained from Siti).	KRAU TRIBE.
Rambutan (rambutan) [sireh)	M.	lengkiang	gentek.
Sireh-leaf (daun	M.	biak	jiak.
Terap-tree (pohon kayu tĕrap)	choit	temerau	jehchar
Forest (hutan)	bri	bri	brik.
Yam (ubi kayu)	ubik	bakoi	kieh-nihok.
,, (kĕledek)	M.	M.	silak.
,, (kĕladi)	lebor	M.	lebor.
Crow (gagak)	M.	kawoh	er-ark.
Egg (tĕlor)	kapoh	kapoh	penglung.
Beak (paroh)	M.	chikok	M.
Ant (semut)	M.	petom	les.
Bee (lĕbah)	ibuk	lawei	lewei.
Fly (lalat)	roie	roie	M.
Cockroach (lipas)	sebitik	semertek	sledek.
Spider (laba-laba)	kelekup	changbeung	changbeung.
Mosquito (nyamok)	semoi.	agas	kemut.
Elephant (gajah)	M.	M.	M.
Gaur (sĕladang)	M.	M.	M.
Bear (bĕruang)	M.	kemon	M.
Chevrotain (napoh, pĕlandok)	M.	M.	M.
Wild-pig (babi utan)	jalor	jalor	rap.
Porcupine (landak)	jikos	jikos	jekos.
Dog (anjing)	choh	choh	chuok.
Tiger (harimau)	podong	kuep	klak.
Cat (kuching)	M.	ni-au	M.
Civet-cat (musang)	M.	mesh	M.
Bird (burong)	chim	chep	chem.
Bamboo-rat (dĕkan)	M.	M.	M.
Rat (tikus)	kanik	karieu	M.
Monkey (kĕra)	terau	terau	?
,, (bĕrok)	kok	tadik	dong.
Bat (kĕlawar)	kelantot	rasal	?
Crocodile (buaya)	kerbok	kerbok	bohayak.
Land tortoise (kura-kura)	yeoh, M.	yeoh, chul	M.
Fresh-water turtle (baning, labi-labi)	M.	pa-ash	resim.
Snake (ular)	tijoh	talun	talun.
Frog (katak)	M.	jangok	M.
Fish (ikan)	chereh	ka	kak.
Tail (ekor)	pas	hàtek	sentak.
Father (bapa)	gaduk lemor	ipak	ibik.
Mother (ibu)	gaduk kerdor	'mboi	iduk.

ENGLISH-MALAY.	BERA TRIBE.	ULU TEKAM TRIBE. (This vocabulary obtained from Siti).	KRAU TRIBE.
Husband (laki, suami)	kenluk	kenluk	kenah.
Wife (bini)	kempun	kempun	kasil.
Son (anak)	kenon	ehwok	ehwok.
Sun (mata hari)	M.	mat tengi	mat ketok.
Moon (bulan)	M.	M.	M.
Star (bintang)	M.	M.	M.
Cloud (awan)	M.	maling	M.
Mountain (gunong)	benom	menom	M.
Hill (bukit)	chong	menom	M.
Daylight (siang hari)	tengi	tengi	ketok.
Night (malam)	petom	plik	sengat.
Thunder (guroh pětir)	M.	karei	kareil.
Wind (angin)	M.	tahor	hong.
Rain (hujan)	leson	gemah	mĭk.
Storm (ribut)	M.	beruok	beruok.
Fire (api)	os	os	os.
Water (ayer)	dak	jĭh-oh	tom.
Smoke (asap)	jeluk	guie	M.
One (satu)	moie	moie	
Two (dua)	M.	mah	
Three (tiga)	'mpek	'mpek	
Four (ĕmpat)	'hmpun	hmpun	
Five (lima)	mesong	mesong	
Six (anam)	M.	temperuk	
Seven (tujoh)	M.	tempoh	
Eight (lapan)	M.	genting	
Nine (sĕmbilan)	M.	gentik	
Ten (sa-puloh)	M.	mogenor	
Stone (batu)	M.	temu	temok.
Earth (tanah)	ateh	hateh	teh.
House (rumah)	dol	siah	siek.
Roof (atap)	M.	palong	pluong.
Chopper (parang)	wai	wai	nyem.
Axe (kapak, bĕliong)	M.	M.	M.
Knife (pisau)	wai lanak	wai lanak	nyem sing-ket.
Cloth (kain)	M.	ton	M.
Spear (lĕmbing)	M.	tohok	bulus.
Blowpipe (sumpitan)	blahan	seput	blau.
Mouthpiece (pangkal sumpitan)	tebong blahan	tebong seput	bam blau.
Muzzle (ujong sumpitan)	sud blahan	koie seput	koie blau.
Quiver (tabong bĕkas damak)	luk	luk	M.
Dart (damak)	M.	koh-or	koh-or.

English-Malay.	Bera Tribe.	Ulu Tekam Tribe. (This vocabulary obtained from Siti).	Krau Tribe.
Poison (ipoh)	cheh	cheh	cheh.
Sleep, to (tidor)	jetek	jetek	tetiak.
Eat, to (makan)	char	n'chah	chichak.
Drink, to (minum)	ji-oh	ji-oh	oh-toh.

Words which appear to be non-Malay, obsolete in the Peninsular dialects, or present slight differences from ordinary Malay from the Rompin and Endau Districts, and from the Jakun of Matang Pasir, near Pekan. Those which are marked with a star are all found among other tribes who speak Jakun dialects, and are just such as might be expected from the Rompin and Endau Districts.

English-Malay.	Rompin.	Endau.	Pekan.
Tiger (harimau)	holeh		
Dog (anjing)	asu *		asu.
Wild-pig (babi utan)	bangkak		
Wild-cat (kuching utan)	keruet		
Monkey (kěra)	kiak		
Owl (burong hantu)	put		
Ant (sěmut)	měret *	meret	
Civet-cat (musang)	musong		
Millipede (sěpak bulan)	gogok *		
Mosquito (nyamok)	rengit *	rengit	
Red ant (kěrěngga)	kerenggak [1]		
Terap tree (pohon-kayu těrap)	toren		
Yam (kěledek)	s'tila		
Thunder (guroh)			tagah.
Blowpipe (sumpitan)	malan *		malan.
Mouthpiece (pangkal sumpitan)	tebong malan		
Muzzle (mata sumpitan)	pohoit malan		
Quiver (tabong běkas damak)	temlahan		
Quiver-cords (tali tabong)	tali temlahan		
Quiver-cover (tudong tabong)	jongkup		
Dart (damak)	damok		

[1] *k* sounded.

ENGLISH-MALAY.	ROMPIN.	ENDAU.	PEKAN.
Point of dart (mata damak)	uyang (*cf.* Malay ujong)		
Butt of dart (pangkal damak)	'habong (or *pahabong*) damak *		
Dart-holder (sarong damak)	pakan damok		

Among the words which are not starred, the following are worth noting as having, perhaps, connexion with Negrito or Sakai dialects:—*Bangkak* (pig), *cf. changgak* (Northern Sakai and Jakun); *s'tila* (yam), *cf. tila, tilak, sila* (Jakun, Semang, and Northern Sakai).

III. PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXPLORATION OF A ROCK-SHELTER IN THE BATU KURAU PARISH, PERAK.

By Ivor H. N. Evans, *M.A.*

In May of 1917 I visited Kampong Perak in the Batu Kurau Parish (Perak) with a view to searching for traces of ancient habitations in the rock-shelters or caves in the limestone hill, Gunong Kurau, which lies close to the village. On making an inspection of these, I found only one site which yielded any results. Neither caves nor shelters were of types which would be likely to prove very attractive as habitations. The former were either dark or damp, the latter small or insufficiently protected from sun and rain. Even the sole site at which signs of former human occupation were found, though it was probably the most convenient of all, was not protected from the sun at midday, and would, perhaps, also be swept by rain if the wind was from the east. The spot was a long but rather narrow terrace at the base of somewhat overhanging limestone cliffs, while four or five feet below the terrace flowed the Kurau River. At one end of it was a small cave, sacred to the Malays, and called the Tiger's *Kĕramat* (*Kĕramat 'Rimau*). There had been set up several of the long-stalked bamboo censers, which are called *sangkak*. At the other end of the terrace, which was shaded by a large tree was another small cave, not quite so large as that of the *Kĕramat 'Rimau*.

The remains left by the former occupants were found in the middle and towards the *Kĕramat 'Rimau* end of the terrace. They were covered by a layer of yellowish sand (probably deposited by the Kurau River when in flood) from about six inches to a foot in depth, and formed a stratum about two-and-half feet thick. Below this stratum yellow sand was again encountered. In case there should be further underlying remains, I examined the river-bank where the terrace abutted on the stream, first trimming its face in order to obtain a clear section. This examination proved that there were no underlying deposits of interest. I had trial pits sunk at the end of the terrace furthest from the *Kĕramat 'Rimau*, but only yellow sand was met with. Possibly this part may never have been used, or the layer containing remains may have been eroded by the river. The date of the deposits in the shelter at Gunong Kurau seems to be much more recent than that of those discovered near Lenggong, which have been described in a previous paper. Bones of the various animals which provided food for the inhabitants were

present in numbers, but were not so common as at Lenggong, where the earth was full of splinters of bone. Most of the bones had been broken to obtain the marrow.

I have so far been able to distinguish bones or teeth of the pig-tailed macaque, crab-eating macaque, pig, bamboo-rat, porcupine, and soft-turtle. Large numbers of shells were found, nearly all of a species of *Melania* (*kechor*) which is common in the Kurau River. All these had the topmost whorls knocked off. There were also obtained several valves of a species of cockle (*Arca* sp.?) one of which was burnt, and six shells of marine gasteropods comprising the genera *Phasianella*, *Natica*, *Marginella* and *Cypræa*. Four of these were bored for suspension, while the only *Cypræa* a "money cowrie" had its ventral surface ground away until it also could be hung from a cord. A tooth of a *brok*-monkey (?) had, as I found in cleaning up the specimens, also been perforated in a similar manner to the shells.

Pieces of pottery were common throughout, the majority being of rough black or brown ware, but we also found a fair number of fragments of Chinese porcelain, chiefly "blue-and-white" and "crackle." These, when examined by an expert, will, apart from other objects, be of some importance in ascertaining the date of the other specimens.

In addition we discovered a considerable number of iron objects, namely four blades of the kind of knife which is known to the Malays as *pisau raut*, two shoulderless adze-blades of very primitive type, a chopper-blade of the variety which the Malays call *golok*, and two rectangular pieces, one of which is probably the lower part of an adze-blade.

Another find was an old East India Company's coin of the kind which the Malays call *duit ayam* from the fact that a figure of a cock is depicted on its face. This bore the Mohamedan date 1247; therefore, if we may judge by it, most of the other specimens must be under ninety years old. There is just a possibility that the coin, being small, may have fallen down unnoticed from the surface, as it was picked up when loose earth was being "changkoled" out of the excavation, but I have no reason to think that this was the case.

We now come to the most puzzling objects met with in the course of our excavations. These were two neolithic-type stone implements, such as are often turned up by Malays when working in their rice fields. One of them was found by a coolie lying on the surface at the barren end of the terrace; it is much weathered or water-worn and is partly coated with stalagmitic matter. The other specimen was uncovered at a depth of 8 inches from the surface and is fairly well preserved. What are we to make of these? The implement from the surface may possibly be dismissed as having been brought to the place at a date later than that of the deposits, but the second specimen cannot be treated in this manner. We must

either suppose, therefore, that the frequenters of the shelter brought it there as a curiosity or charm, having found it during their wanderings; or that iron was rare among them (which does not seem to have been the case from the number of iron objects found), and that they were still using some stone tools.[1] I incline towards the former supposition.

A point of interest with regard to some of the specimens discovered was their excellent state of preservation. Fibres were found at a depth of two feet which were recognised by my coolies as being those of sugar-cane, while a small marine shell contained the complete skin of a hermit-crab.

A large number of *Melania* shells, as well as many fragments of bone and a few of pottery, which we found under a large group of stalagtites depending from the rock above, were beautifully petrified, being so evenly coated with layers of lime as to still preserve all but the smallest features of their external structure.

We did not come across any human bones, nor flakes, cores or other signs of stone implements having been manufactured on the site.

Malay tradition asserts that Semang inhabited the Batu Kurau Parish until comparatively recent times, and there is still a Semang tribe at Ijok, about seventeen miles from Batu Kurau by road and bridle-path. The Semang seem to have quitted the neighbourhood of Batu Kurau owing to quarrels with the Malays, who were, at that time, just beginning to open up this part of the country, and to form settlements. One of my coolies, a man named Pandak Ismail, told me that his great-great-grandfather, Moyang Bola, who was the founder of Kampong Perak, had killed one or two of them on account of their having stolen some property, and that, on their leaving the district, he put a curse on any who should return. For this reason the Semang were afraid to come near Kampong Perak. Pandak's story was supported by other Malays to whom I talked about the matter.

Seeing that the Semang of Lenggong still sometimes use, or inhabit, rock-shelters, and taking into consideration the apparently recent date of the objects which we obtained at Gunong Kurau, it seems likely that these people were the former occupants of the terrace which we explored.

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[1] There seems to be some slight reason for thinking that a bronze or copper age may have succeeded that of stone in the Malay Peninsula, since three small copper or bronze celts have been obtained at different times and are now in the collections of the Federated Malay States Museums.

IV. CAVE-DWELLINGS IN PAHANG.

By Ivor H. N. Evans, *M.A.*

In June and July 1917 I visited two districts of Pahang with a view to digging in the floors of certain caves in limestone hills. My first set of excavations was carried out at Gunong Sennyum near Kuala Krau; the second in caves near the Benta-Kuantan Road, about thirteen miles from Jerantut, and in the direction of Kuantan. These excavations and the results obtained are dealt with below. I have appended some remarks with reference to objects obtained from cave-deposits in other parts of the Peninsula, and the possibility of the cave-dwellers having been Negritos.

Excavations at Gunong Sennyum.

Gunong Sennyum, a limestone hill 1,595 feet in height, is most conveniently reached by taking boat from Kuala Krau—whence it is visible—to a Malay village called Pengkalan Gunong. From this place a track leads, chiefly through jungle, to the foot of the hill, the distance being about four miles.

On arrival at Gunong Sennyum, I made my camp in a long and low cave at its base which afforded perfect protection from rain, though open along the outer side. The floor of this cave was almost entirely of naked rock, and so unsuitable for digging operations. During the first two or three days of our stay I made a few excavations in some small caves or shelters at the base of the hill, but did not obtain any very important results, though it was clear that one of these shelters, near an almost stagnant stream which issued from a cave, had been formerly used, since I found there a few fragments of common blue-and-white Chinese porcelain—seemingly modern—and a fair number of shells of *Melania* (sp. ?).

On the fourth day, however, I visited a large cave, the Gua 'To' Long, situated immediately above that in which I was living. There are only two methods of gaining access to it; one from our camping place, by swarming up the pendent roots of a large *Ara*-tree (*Ficus sp.*) which grows against the face of the cliff; the other by means of a ladder, after a scramble up a slope of earth, which is hidden from anyone in the lower cave by a projecting corner of rock.

The Gua 'To' Long is a light cave of about the same length as that below, but with a much higher roof.

After reaching top of the ladder, it is necessary to pass through a small natural archway of rock before emerging upon a platform, which slopes downwards. Stepping care-

fully across this a kind of entrance hall is encountered, partially divided off from the rest of the cave by a couple of large stalactite pillars. Passing between these the main room of the cave is entered, which would be open along the whole of its outer side, were it not that it is partially shut in by pillars of similar kind. It is between two of these that access is gained to the cave by means of the *Ara*-tree roots. In about the centre of the large compartment is the *Kĕramat* (holy place) 'To' Long from which the cave takes its name. This is made to represent a Malay grave, having *batu nisan* (grave-stones) and being boarded-in at the sides.

I do not know if there is any story current as to the personality of 'To' Long but all that I could find out about the origin of the *Kĕramat* was, that a man was said to have come across a coffin (*kĕranda*) while digging in the floor of the cave; whereupon the local Malays jumped to the conclusion that a body buried far away from any village, in a cave, must be that of some holy person, and thenceforth considered the place sacred.

Unfortunately the *Kĕramat*, being in a central position, prevented my digging in a part of the cave-floor which I should much like to have opened up.

Over the "grave" there hung a rattan cord, which was tied to the end of a stalactite above. To this, offerings of bananas had, I believe, originally been attached, but several nests of some species of weaver-bird (*burong tĕmpua*)—one new and containing two eggs—had been built on its lower end. The large compartment of the cave terminated in a small passage, which was light and partly open on its outer side.

An examination of the floor of the Gua 'To' Long, especially at a few places where water dripped down from the points of stalactites, disclosed some shells of fresh-water mollusks. Concluding from the presence of these that the cave had been inhabited and that the contents of the shells had been devoured by former cave-dwellers, I opened a portion of the floor of the "entrance hall" some twenty feet long by nine feet broad, and found that solid rock was encountered at a depth of from three to four feet, underlying powdery lime-impregnated soil, which contained many relics of the former occupants of the cave.

Among the objects discovered were the teeth and bones of mammals, portions of the carapaces of fresh-water turtles and of tortoises; three polished stone implements (two whole, one a fragment); many flakes of fine-grained stone; shells of fresh-water mollusks; pieces of red pigment; grinding-stones for this paint, which had deeply stained them; rough pottery; a few pieces of yellow and green glazed ware; and part of a human skeleton.

From the fact that a large number of flakes occurred in the deposits—as many as four or five were often found in each

sieveful of earth—I do not think that there can be any doubt that the people who lived in this cave understood the working of stone by flaking. The stone implements might, of course, have been either ancient objects picked up outside the caves and taken home by the Troglodytes, or have been obtained by barter from some other people; but I am inclined to think that they were made on the spot.

The broken implement—the cutting end of a finely polished stone axe—shows *striae* which were evidently produced by grinding the implement—in course of manufacture, or in sharpening it—on a stone, not long before it was discarded. The second specimen, a small chisel-like implement, which also shows *striae*, is merely a water-worn stone of convenient shape, which has been ground above and below at one end so as to produce a cutting edge. The third implement [1]—also small and of chisel-like shape—is made from another water-worn stone. It, however, appears to have been much used, and exhibits no *striae*. In type the second and third implements are very similar, but the second is much the thicker of the two.

Besides these polished, or partly polished, implements we discovered several pieces of hard-grained stone which showed primary chipping. Three of these have a roughly pear-shaped form, and, had they not been found in association with articles of polished stone, might almost have been taken for implements of a palaeolithic type. They are roughly chipped on both faces, the chipping extending over almost the whole of them. A fourth appears to have been chipped only around the edges. A fifth is a water-worn pebble, also pear-shaped, which has been trimmed at its border only (on both faces). A sixth is a part of another pebble which has been dressed by taking off two large flakes, the result being that the piece remaining would seem not unsuitable for making into a fan-shaped axe-head.

The flakes are mostly of fine-grained blackish stone. Some of them, small and sharp, may have been used as knives; others, which are rougher, were probably merely trimmings from large pebbles which were being dressed for some purpose or other. Percussion bulbs are well developed in many specimens, but the stone, though probably the best material that the cave-dwellers could obtain, is not very suitable for working by chipping, and could not be expected to give nearly such fine results as flint, obsidian, or chert.

Let us now see what further conclusions we may draw from the examination of these worked stones.

The deposits in the cave, as I have remarked above, were of no great depth, and a layer of refuse with a maximum depth of four feet might not take many years to accumulate, provided that the occupation of the site was continuous.

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[1] Length 8·8 cms., maximum breadth 2·5 cms., maximum depth 2·1 cms.

This, however, if the cave-dwellers were at all similar in their habits to present aboriginals—whether Semang, Sakai, or Jakun—does not seem likely, as even the tame tribes seldom stay longer than a year or two in one place, while the wilder Semang are nomadic. On the other hand, there were no barren *strata* in the deposits, which, except where layers of the ashes of fires were encountered, were of a similar nature, from top to bottom. Barren layers, however, would, perhaps, scarcely be expected, if the caves were used at fairly frequent intervals,[1] or at a certain season of the year;[2] for the rotting of the limestone, and its falling down as powdery deposit—the caves were dry in most places—must go on but slowly; and if as much as six inches of this deposit accumulated between each visit of the cave-people, this would soon become full of the refuse of their feasts and of other remains.

The flakes occurred throughout, but were commonest at from two to three feet, and rarest towards the bottom.

The ground-down stone implements were found at the following depths, the broken, and one of the complete specimens, at about two-and-a-half feet from the surface (the total depth of the deposits being four feet), the other complete implement—the worn specimen—at two feet from the surface in a three-foot deposit. The roughly worked stones, also, were found rather in the middle layers of the floor than towards the top or bottom. I suppose that for want of other evidence we must consider these last as rejects in the course of manufacture, which, had they been satisfactory, would have been turned into polished axe-heads or chisels; but in two cases their shapes do not seem to lend themselves particularly well to the aforesaid purposes. Furthermore, it is curious that the two small implements described above, which are only polished at their cutting edges, do not show any signs of chipping on their rougher parts. Rudely-dressed pear-shaped implements might have been used as hammers for smashing bones to extract the marrow, but none of those found showed any signs of bruising at their ends, which might, perhaps, have been expected, had they been used for this purpose.

I have remarked above that I discovered several pieces of iron-oxide ruddle and some stones which evidently had been used for grinding it up for use as paint. The simplest type of grinder, and the commonest, was a water-rounded pebble of quartz; of these I brought away with me six specimens. All are deeply stained with the pigment.

Three other grinding-stones are also water-worn pebbles, but are of different shapes and material, and have evidently

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[1] As the shelters at Lenggong in Upper Perak are by the Negritos.

[2] *Vide infra* my remarks on the inhabitation of the Kota Rawa and other caves by the Sakai-jakun of the Tekam River.

been used for—comparatively speaking—long periods, since those parts of the stones which have been used for rubbing down the pigment, are not only coloured by it, but have become flattened and smoothed by wear. One of these grinders is made of a fairly fine-grained black rock, similar to that of the flakes. It is of a convenient shape for grasping in the hand, and a part of its surface at one end is much worn, this worn surface being coloured with iron-oxide. The second is a somewhat spherical granite (?) pebble which has been partly flattened tangentially by long use; the third, a pebble of fine-grained stone with an oval section, is deeply stained with ruddle, and has one face ground quite smooth.

Bones and teeth of animals devoured by the cave-dwellers, which are all, I believe, those of extant species, were fairly numerous, and I have, so far, been able to identify remains of pigs, deer, cattle (*Bos gaurus*), monkeys, soft-turtles and tortoises. Nearly all the bones had been broken to obtain the marrow, and many of the fragments, especially those found in layers of ashes, were charred.

The molluscan remains comprise shells of a species of *Melania*—some of them showing traces of burning—and valves of a fresh-water mussel (*Unio* ?). The *Melania*-shells were very numerous, and large numbers were found in every sieveful of earth taken.

We now come to the pottery; most of this is rough brownish ware—seemingly pieces of cooking pots—roughly cross-hatched to form a lozenge pattern. The patterns, which in all cases are of the same type, though they vary in size, appear to have been produced by pressing a cord against the pots before the clay was dry; for, in most of the pieces, the depressed lines of the hatching show twist-marks, and, on making experiment, I have been able to obtain exactly similar results by pressing a tightly stretched string against a pat of wet clay. The edges of some of the pots with this type of decoration are further ornamented with perpendicular lines, obviously made with a sharp tool.

There is reason for thinking that some of the rougher pottery may have been made on the spot, since I found three worked lumps of clay, which appear to have been hardened by fire. Two of these are small hillock or mound-shaped pieces, and one of them still shows a finger-print. The third is of irregular shape, but exhibits a couple of rough markings, probably made with a wooden tool, or tools, while a piece has been pinched out of one edge between the finger and thumb of the right hand while its material was still soft; thus leaving an indentation.

A few small pieces of smooth and well-shaped brown ware were also met with, these being from the first two feet of soil. The unglazed pottery comprises pieces of the rims, bases and bodies of medium-sized vessels. Some of the shards are

blackened with smoke, and are evidently parts of cooking pots.

The glazed ware, I think, we may fairly presume, was not made by the cave-dwellers, but obtained from some people in a higher state of civilization. One piece of this was discovered at a depth of two feet in a small excavation which I made towards the outer side of the cave in the "main hall." The other pieces, four in number, were obtained at depths of about a foot to a foot-and-a-half. Out of the five, two are fragments of fairly fine yellowish ware covered with a yellowish-green glaze, two, bits of rather thick pottery on which some slight patterns of meandering lines can still be traced. Only traces of green glaze—much cracked, and in a very powdery condition—are left on these two specimens. Where, however, it can still be seen the patterns show up as being darker than their ground, since they were made by engraving the pot before the application of the semi-transparent glaze, and thus, when the vessel was treated with it, they, in receiving more than the ground, became darker coloured. The fifth piece of glazed ware has a yellow-green ground with some brownish bands running through it horizontally.

One undoubted implement of bone was found in our largest excavation, but to what use it was put, unless to scratch the body or head, for which purpose bamboo pins are used at the present day among some Sakai and Jakun tribes, I do not know. It is made from a piece of a mammalian limb-bone of medium size which has been split longitudinally, and ground down (internally) at one end to a point. Two or three other pointed fragments of bone were also encountered, but it is possible that bones fractured in this manner were broken to get at the marrow, and were not intentionally shaped, though one of them rather gives the impression that this had been the case. None of the latter specimens show any signs of grinding or polishing.

Several pieces of black iron-ore (haematite?) were also met with in our largest excavation. At first I thought that they might have been used in conjunction with a quartz pebble for obtaining fire, but, on making the experiment, I could not obtain any sparks.

We now come to the associated human remains. These comprise a skull almost complete, with the exception of the jaws and other facial bones, and some pieces of limb-bones. One small piece of the upper jaw and a few much worn-down teeth were, however, found separately. The skull was resting with its base upon the bed-rock at a depth of three feet from the surface. Its condition, like that of the other human bones, was extremely friable, and it broke into pieces when being removed, but, by carefully preserving all the fragments I have been able to make a fair restoration of it. I think it best, however, not to attempt to deal at length with these remains

until they can be examined by an expert in physical anthropology, but to content myself with giving a few details as their disposition in the soil, and any evidence that I can as to whether they are of the same age as, or newer than, the stratum in which they were found.

A layer of ashes[1] of considerable extent was encountered just above the skull, and the rest of the overlying deposits showed no signs of having been disturbed. I think that from this we may, perhaps, conclude that the remains are as old, or older than, the layer of ashes, and that anything above this layer accumulated subsequently.

As a very large part of the skeleton is missing, it would not be wise to speculate as to the orientation of the body at burial, if, indeed, it was buried.

In a small pit which we opened at the far end of the Gua 'To' Long five fragments of a human skull were discovered at a depth of about two feet from the surface. These were not friable like the skull found in our large pit: the breakages of the bone appear to be old, and all the pieces are stained with ruddle.

Whether the caves in Gunong Sennyum are visited by aboriginal tribes at the present day seems doubtful. One of my Malay coolies, who came from Pengkalan Gunong, told me that they were not. Yet, possibly, such natives may have frequented the neighbourhood not so very long ago, for I noticed that in one place the jungle close to the mountain was old *bĕlukar* (secondary growth), looking as if it had formerly been cleared for planting rice or root-crops.

Malays in search of rattans sometimes occupy the long cave in which I camped, and to them must, most probably, be ascribed some of the charcoal drawings to be seen on its walls, especially one of a boat under sail—a sort of schooner, as far as I could make out.

There are, however, some rude drawings which seem more likely to have been the work of aborigines, such as circles of dots and very crude representations of human beings. A number of these are to be observed on the rocks near the watercourse which I have mentioned above.

The Kota Tongkat and other caves.

The cave which is known as Kota Tongkat is situated in the limestone of a hill which lies about half a mile to the north of the Benta-Kuantan Road, and thirteen miles from Jerantut in the direction of Kuantan.

Mr. L. Wray had previously paid a visit to caves in this neighbourhood[2] and had found there signs of recent occupa-

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[1] It is perhaps worth noting that Mr. Wray found ashes overlying some of the human remains in the caves at Gunong Cheroh.

[2] "Journal of the F.M.S. Museums," vol. I, pp. 13-15.

tion, which comprised sleeping-platforms, hearths, bones, molluscan shells, husks of Indian corn and shells of the *kĕpayang* and other jungle fruits, etc. He surmised that the "modern Sakai of Pahang" were responsible for the remains. In this connexion it is worth while to put on record the evidence of some Sakai-Jakun, native to the Tekam Valley, whom I visited after I had finished my digging work. These people told me that they visited the caves, and lived there for a while, each year at the season when the *kĕpayang* and other jungle fruits were ripe.

Kota Tongkat is a large tunnel-like cave running right through the base of the limestone hill. It contains some beautiful stalactites and stalactitic pillars, the latter giving it the name of *Tongkat* (or *Bĕrtongkat*), the word meaning a prop or walking-stick (*bĕrtongkat*, "propped up"). For some reason all the caves in this part of the country are known as Kota ("fort").

In the Kota Tongkat I lived and carried out most of the excavations. I was much hindered in my work by my three Malay coolies, who had been sent to me by the Penghulu of Pulau Tawar. They had, I think, been turned out against their wills, and, it being the Fasting Month at the time, they made this an excuse for every kind of laziness that their ingenuity could devise. My men at Gunong Sennyum, on the other hand, served me excellently, though they too were working during the *Bulan Puasa*, and, with one exception, kept the fast. The Pulau Tawar Malays possess, I believe, an unenviable reputation for being work-shy.

Though my men proved unsatisfactory, I thought it better to keep them than to dismiss them and to obtain others—probably equally lazy—which would have involved waste of time.

Considering the small amount of ground that I was able to explore I was, on the whole, fairly successful.

Excavations in the Kota Tongkat yielded pottery, a few bones, flakes and molluscan shells similar to those found at Gunong Sennyum, but nothing of special interest. As I was not satisfied with these results, I attempted to find other sites which would better repay us for our labour, and visited several more caves and shelters in and about the base of the hill. One of the former, the Kota Rawa, was a rather small light cave with a low roof which had an opening about thirty feet from the ground in a salient of the limestone cliff. Access to the Kota Rawa was possible in two ways, one by clambering up the hanging roots of an fig tree which grew against the cliff, and from them into the cave-mouth; the other by passing round the salient and effecting an entry at a low "back-door," after a scramble up a rocky gulley. The cave was well suited for a dwelling, since it was dry, light, and airy and could be easily defended against wild animals or human foes.

Its roof was blackened by smoke and the floor was strewn with the hard shells of *kĕpayang* fruits, which proved that the place had been inhabited fairly recently. A further examination of the floor by scraping with our "changkols" showed that there were only a few inches of dusty deposit covering the limestone rock. In this we found some bones, which looked fairly new, fresh-water shells (*Melania*) and three small fragments of black stone. I scarcely dare to call these last flakes as they did not show any very obvious signs—such as bulbs of percussion—of having been struck off from larger pieces by human agency, but it is worth noting that their material was of the kind from which stone implements are frequently made, and, that the pieces, being of non-local rock, must have been brought to the spot.

In the small cave below the front entrance to the Kota Rawa were the ashes of recent fires, and on digging a little in these we found a few bones of small mammals, shells of *kĕpayang* fruits, and a worn-out iron chopper- (*golok*) blade.

After exploring the Kota Rawa we paid a visit to another cave at the base of the hill, which is, I believe, called the Kota Glap—our coolies were not very sure of the names of the caves, since they were not particularly well acquainted with the neighbourhood. The Sungai Batu, a small river, washes the edge of, and in places partly invades, this cave, and it was evident from the deposits of sand which we saw, that in times of flood most of the cave-floor is submerged,

The Kota Glap—the name means "the dark fort," though it is not particularly dark—had been recently occupied by rattan-gatherers, whom my coolies said were Malays, strips of cane, which littered the ground, bearing witness to the nature of their employment. Some trial excavations made in the floor of the cave yielded no objects of interest.

I could not find out from my men what was the name of the hill, or rather hill-range, in which these caves were situated. Mr. L. Wray in speaking of the neighbourhood refers to "the caves in a limestone hill called Kota Gĕlanggi," but I was told that the Kota Gĕlanggi, the entrance to which our men could not find, is a cave, and this is supported by Mr. W. Cameron in his paper "Kota Glanggi" in "The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch."[1]

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[1] No. IX, pp. 153-160. Mr. Cameron mentions four caves, by name, *viz.* Kota Tongkat, Kota Burong, Kota Glanggi and Kota Papan. The Kota Burong, of which I know the position, is a dark cave inhabited by innumerable bats: it is next to the Kota Tongkat. My coolies said that the Kota Glanggi lay somewhere between the Kota Burong and the Kota Glap, but this appears to be incorrect, and is obviously the reason why we could not find the entrance; for Mr. Cameron, who entered it, says that it is situated between the Kota Tongkat and Kota Burong. The Kota Papan, which I did not locate either—I have only come across Mr. Cameron's article since my return to Headquarters—is, he says, reached through a part of the Kota Tongkat though "no one unacquainted with the locality would ever guess that there was a cave here." It appears to be a dark cave.

Not being satisfied with any of these sites for digging purposes, I determined to make another inspection of Kota Tongkat, and eventually pitched upon some rock-shelters at the mouth of a small dark grotto close to the main cave. The roof at the entrance of this cave was blackened by smoke, and ashes on the floors of the shelters showed that they had been used as dwellings at a fairly recent date.

Unfortunately excavation in these shelters, which yielded the best results, were not begun until the last day of my stay, and, as coolies for carrying baggage were difficult to obtain, I did not think it wise to cancel my arrangements. One day's work with lazy diggers did not, of course, suffice to excavate a large part of the ground, but we obtained several interesting specimens. The total depth of the deposits overlying bedrock in the shelters was from three-and-a-half to four feet. The first six inches from the surface consisted of recent ashes of fires, containing a few fragments of bones. In the soil underlying the ashes, we found numbers of pieces of rough pottery, flakes, shells of *mollusca* (species of *Melania* and *Unio* (?)), a few mammalian bones, the *chela* of a crab,[1] a stone which had been used for polishing or sharpening; four small pieces of polished stone, presumably parts of implements; and two roughly-dressed stones, which I take to be partly manufactured axe-heads.

Let us now consider the finds from the Kota Tongkat and from these shelters in detail.

The flakes, some of which have well-marked characteristics, are mostly of a kind of hard, brownish-coloured sandstone, though some are of fine-grained black rock, similar to that of the flakes and implements from Gunong Sennyum. In the shelters, flakes were found from a depth of six inches below the surface to the bottom of the deposit. In Kota Tongkat itself they were present from close under the surface to almost the bottom of the deposits.

I have not mentioned hitherto that in the Kota Tongkat we found that the soil containing remains left by cave-dwellers extended to a depth of three feet six inches, while between this and the solid rock was a layer of large snail-shells from about four to six inches in thickness. I cannot account for the presence of these.

The pieces of polished stone are all of very fine-grained rock, perhaps chert. Two of them are dark grey in colour, one, which exhibits a bulb of percussion, being a thin flake struck from the face of a polished stone by human agency. The other two pieces, one of which also shows a bulb, are pale grey, the piece with the bulb being the lighter coloured of the two. All four pieces are resistant to the corrosive action

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[1] A marine species ?

of hydrochloric acid. These objects were found at depths of from two to two-and-a-half feet.

Of the two dressed stones, which I have referred to above, one, which shows marks of primary flaking on either side, appears to be of some fine-grained sedimentary rock of a brownish colour; the material of the other, of which the chipping is very rude, is a dark and rather coarse stone with a crystalline structure.

The sharpening stone is of particular interest. It was found in another part of the same rock-shelter where we obtained the pieces of polished stone, but at a depth of only about a foot-and-a-half.

This object is 17 cms. in length, is four-sided, and tapers to a point at one end. Its sides are channelled longitudinally as if small chisels or gouge-like implements had been continually rubbed or sharpend on them. I am inclined to think that this stone may have been used for grinding and polishing small stone implements, similar to the two which we obtained at Gunong Sennyum. I do not know what the material of the specimen is. Its colour is a light yellow-ochre, and its grain very fine. I thought at first that it was a broken piece of a stalactite, but I find that it resists the action of acid. Three small notches have been cut in one of its edges near its larger end.

Passing now to the pottery, some of this is similar to the cross-hatched ware from Gunong Sennyum, but there are also fragments decorated with parallel lines, and a few which have a smooth surface. The colours of the ware are red, brown and black. No glazed pottery was encountered, and no ware of any sort at a greater depth than two feet.

One piece of ruddle was found in the rock-shelters. A pebble, worn to a smooth surface at one end, appears to have been used for rubbing down this pigment, but it is just possible, from its shape, that a cave-dweller might have begun to make it into a small chisel-like implement, and finally rejected it as unsuitable. As, however, slight traces of red pigment are still observable on the stone, this does not seem likely.

Bones of any kind were rather rare in the Kota Tongkat rock-shelters, those that we did find usually having been broken into small pieces. A tooth of a *bĕrok*-monkey (*Macacus nemestrinus*), bored for suspension from a cord, was discovered within six inches of the surface in the layer of ashes.

The spiral fresh-water shells (*Melania* sp.), in most cases, had had their topmost whorls broken away to facilitate the extraction of their contents. Those from the caves at Gunong Sennyum had been similarly treated.

It is as yet premature to be at all dogmatic with regard to the age of objects which have been found in the caves and rock-shelters of the Malay Peninsula; but a few observations

tending to establish the ages of deposits of different districts in relation to one another, and to fix the age of those which seem to be the earliest of them, may, perhaps, not be out of place. We have to consider then, objects from caves or shelters from the following neighbourhoods: Gunong Cheroh, near Ipoh in the Kinta District of Perak; Lenggong in Upper Perak; Gunong Kurau, in the Larut District of Perak; Gunong Sennyum in the Temerloh District of Pahang; and Kota Tongkat in the Lipis District of the last named State. The caves and shelters in Gunong Cheroh were explored by Mr. L. Wray, the other localities by myself.

Except in the case of the deposits at Gunong Cheroh, none of those which have so far been examined have exceeded four-and-a-half feet in depth. A point that is of some importance in estimating the age of relics from the caves is that all the remains of animals which have been found up to the present appear to be those of extant species: presumably, therefore, the deposits are quite recent in the geological sense of the word. The stories which are current that certain aboriginal tribes still use stone implements, incline me to believe that they are comparatively recent in the more ordinary sense of the word. From the presence of iron implements, Chinese porcelain and an East India Company's coin in the floor of the rock-shelter at Batu Kurau, I do not think that there can be much doubt that these deposits, not counting surface deposits at Gunong Sennyum and Kota Tongkat, are the most modern of all, and, probably not more than seventy to a hundred years old.

Having dealt with the objects from Batu Kurau, let us now compare the articles from other localities and see if we can show any reasons for thinking that any of them may be contemporaneous, or that one is older than the others.

Ruddle, which I have never seen in use among present-day aborigines,[1] was found in all the caves and shelters on my list, with the exception of that at Gunong Kurau. The same holds good of grinding-stones stained with this pigment.

Polished stone implements, or parts of them, were found in all the localities with the exception of Lenggong.

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[1] They frequently use the juices of plants, lime and charcoal for painting their bodies. Skeat (*Pagan Races*, vol. II, p. 37), in speaking of body-paint among the Semang, says that the pigment obtained from the wild "saffron" or "turmeric" is converted (by mixing with lime) into a sort of burnt red-ochre. He continues, "it is not clear, from our existing information, whether any kind of red ochre is obtained among the Semang (as among the Sakai), by the grinding down of lumps of iron ore or haematite." The statement that the Sakai paint themselves with some mineral substance unfortunately rests, it seems, on some, as usual, rather unsatisfactory evidence furnished by Vaughan-Stevens, for as Skeat says (*Ibid.*, p. 47): "Vaughan-Stevens describes it, somewhat vaguely and from tradition only, as a species of red earth"—this in reference to some pigment used before anatto, "a modern introduction," came into favour for painting the body. Haematite is in use for this purpose among the Peninsular Malays who give it the name of *Batu Kawi*.

[I do not pretend to be able to give a very satisfactory explanation of the occurrence of stone implements at Gunong Kurau in association with iron tools, unless the iron age followed directly that of stone, so that stone and iron implements were in use at the same time.]

Let us now consider stones found in the cave or shelter-floors which show signs of having been roughly dressed to definite shapes by means of flaking. I cannot find any of these among Mr. Wray's collections from Gunong Cheroh—now in the Perak Museum—but there are examples from the Lenggong, Gunong Sennyum and Kota Tongkat, though none from Gunong Kurau. Now with regard to objects of this kind from the two localities in Pahang it is not particularly difficult to imagine that they are uncompleted stone axe-heads which were rejected during manufacture owing to the stone breaking in an unsuitable manner, or for some other reason. The dressed stones from Lenggong, however, seem to be of a more primitive type, and it is not easy to see, if they are uncompleted implements, into what ordinary style of neolithic-type axe-head they were to be made.

Passing now to the pottery from Gunong Sennyum and from Kota Tongkat: from both localities we have ware which has been decorated by pressing a cord against its surface before the clay hardened, and, on making a re-examination of some of the fragments of rough pottery from Lenggong, I find that they also show cross-hatching which has been produced by this method, the marks left by the twist of the cord being plainly visible. Perak Malay women at the present day, I am told by natives of that State, sometimes make patterns on clay water-vessels by drawing a thread across them while the material is still wet, and we have at least two vessels in the Perak Museum which have been treated in this manner. Drawing a thread over a wet clay, however, merely leaves cuts with somewhat rounded edges, which do not show the twist of the cord. To reproduce these a piece of cord must be pressed against the surface of the vessel. I have not as yet been able to obtain any evidence that pressure with a cord is still employed by the Malays for marking pottery, but this does not necessarily mean to say that it is not.

If, as seems possible, the deposits from the Lenggong area are of earlier date than those from Gunong Sennyum and Kota Tongkat, what are we to think of the former in relation to those of Gunong Cheroh? In this locality the deposits containing relics of the cave-dwellers reached in some places a total depth of twelve feet, signs being present that they had once been considerably deeper, for Mr. Wray says that the floor of the cave at the time of his visit was "some six to eight feet lower than it had been at a previous period, this being clearly "shown by masses of shell and bone conglomerate sticking on to the back wall at that height above the

present level." He found no pottery in the caves—"except on the surface, where there was some recent Malayan pottery"—nor does he seem to have encountered any flakes. He does not give very full details as to the depths at which all the objects of interest were discovered, but he found a mealing-stone and a muller at eighteen inches from the existing surface of the cave-floor, and a second mealing-stone (in an adjoining cave) at a depth of two-and-a-half feet. He does not state very definitely the depth at which the human remains were found, but says that "some short way above them was a well defined hearth, and over all had, at a previous time, been a bed of about four feet of hard shell and bone stalagmite."[1] Presumably, therefore, they were discovered not far from the surface of the cave-floor. Further excavations made by Mr. Wray in the Gunong Cheroh caves and described in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*[2] resulted in the finding of a polished stone implement at a depth of two feet below the surface. To hazard a guess, it seems possible that the deeper layers of the cave floor at Gunong Cheroh might be older than the Lenggong deposits, while those which had been destroyed and those near the modern surface of the floor, might well be newer, since a polished stone implement was found at a depth of two feet below the surface. It is, however, quite possible that polished stone implements may yet be found in the Lenggong deposits, though, as far as I can see at present, the probabilities are rather against such a discovery.

Now who were the people who used the caves and rock-shelters? Are they now extinct, or are their modern representatives the Negritos, the Sakai or the Jakun, or all three? Let us examine the situations of the sites excavated with reference to the present distribution of the pagan races of the Peninsula. Taking first the shelter at Gunong Kurau—I have already stated my reasons for considering the deposits in it recent—it is situated almost, if not quite, within the present range of the Negrito tribe at Ijok, and the local Malays state that there were Negritos living in the neighbourhood at the time of the founding of Kampong Perak, which would seem to have taken place not more than eighty years ago. The caves in the neighbourhood of Lenggong are still frequently used by the local tribe of Negritos, but at Gunong Cheroh near Ipoh, we are in the territory of pure-blooded Sakai, and, "as the crow flies" some twenty to thirty miles from the nearest Negrito "boundary."[3] Still it is generally conceded that the Negritos once had a more extensive distribution than they have to-day.

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[1] *Journal Anth. Inst.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 36-47.
[2] *Journal F.M.S. Museums*, vol. I, pp. 13-15.
[3] The Plus River.

With regard to the sites which I excavated in the State of Pahang, I have already remarked that the Kota Tongkat, Kota Rawa and other caves are still occasionally used by the Sakai-Jakun of the Tekam River, and some of the shelters at Gunong Sennyum may, perhaps, sometimes be visited by people of similar type. In both neighbourhoods, however, we are again not very far from regions frequented by Negritos. The nearest tribe, or part of a tribe, to Kota Tongkat is, apparently, that which frequents the neighbourhood of Kuala Cheka; but as I found two or three persons who had, I think, some admixture of Negrito blood, living among with aborigines on the Tekam River, I am inclined to believe that there may possibly be a Negrito tribe not many miles away.

It seems to me, then, possible that the relics in the caves, with the exception, perhaps, of those near, or on the surface of, the floors may have been left there by Negritos, though, if this is so, the cave-dwellers must in some matters have been in a more advanced state than any of the present aborigines, since they appear to have been capable of working and polishing stone, and even of making pottery. With this possibility in view it is, perhaps, worth while to see whether the habits and customs of the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands, who are of the same race, throw any light on the problem. Man in his papers on these people in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* states that Mincopies exhume the remains of the dead, which, with the exception of the skulls, after being cleansed in water, are broken up and strung as necklaces. The skulls of the dead are painted with *koi-ôb* and worn by their relatives. *Koi-ôb*, an iron oxide pigment mixed with grease, is also used for ornamenting the body. This is interesting in view of the ruddle-stained pieces of skull found in the Gua 'To' Long, and of the pieces of paint which were found by Mr. L. Wray in the caves near Ipoh, and by myself in the rock-shelters at Lenggong, in the Gua 'To' Long and at Kota Tongkat.

Other points of interest mentioned by Man are the use of flakes of stone by the Mincopies and—in relation especially to human teeth from Lenggong, Gunong Cheroh, and Gunong Sennyum—the state of these people's teeth. To quote from his paper:—

"The general excellence of the teeth strikes one as remarkable, for not only are no precautions taken for their preservation, but they are used roughly, small bones being broken by them and food commonly eaten at almost boiling point. The grinding surface of the molars is generally much abraded: five or six tubercles are occasionally observed in the posterior molars, but are not all marked with equal distinctness; in some cases, indeed, they are scarcely distinguishable. The crowns of these teeth frequently present one long and comparatively even surface, and the peculiarity is,

of course, due to the practice above referred to, of grinding hard substances with them." [1]

It is possible, of course, that further examination of the human remains from Lenggong and Gunong Sennyum may throw a considerable light on the race or races to which the cave-dwellers belonged, and it is particularly to be regretted that those found at Lenggong did not include a skull. We have in the Perak Museum the skulls of three aborigines,[2] one said to be that of a Negrito (♂) from the Piah River, and two of Sakai (♂ & ♀) from the Kinta and Batang Padang Districts of Perak. In only one of these, the skull of the Sakai man, do the molar teeth show signs of wear at all comparable to those of the cave-people.

A point which appears to me to be striking with regard to the skull from Gunong Sennyum, in comparison with our three skulls of present-day aborigines, is its length. Whether this can be due to distortion caused by earth pressure, I leave it for an expert in such matters to determine.

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[1] We might, however, expect to find the teeth of any people who constantly broke bones with them worn down in this fashion.

[2] These *crania* are, I believe, all those of adults.

V. CUSTOMS OF THE CAMPHOR-HUNTERS.

By Ivor H. N. Evans, *M.A.*

While paying a visit to the Endau River in August of this year (1917), I made a list of camphor tabu words (mostly obtained from Malays) and elicited any further information that I could with regard to the customs of camphor-hunters.

The present paper contains only that part of my work which deals with customs and beliefs: the vocabulary is printed on pages 60-80.

My informants, with the exception of a Jakun man from whom I obtained a few words of *Bahasa Kapor*[1], were Malays; one being a *Pĕnghulu Kapor* (leader of camphor-hunters); the other a man who had been working in a subordinate capacity. Very little, if any, camphor seems to be collected nowadays in the vicinity of the Endau River.

The followers of the *Pĕnghulu Kapor* are known as his "Sakai." He and his "Sakai" must use the *Bahasa Kapor* while in the jungle, and, besides this, they have to observe tabus of various kinds, which are more numerous and important in the case of the Penghulu than in that of his followers.

The Spirit of Camphor (*Bisan*)[2] is female and assumes the form of a Cicada. She requires propitiation by the camphor-seekers, or they will return empty-handed. A sacrifice of a white cock is made by the *Pĕnghulu* and his "Sakai" just at dusk on the first evening, after they have arrived at their head-quarters and built their hut, after which they partake of the fowl and of *pulut* (*Oriza glutinosa*) which is also offered to the *Bisan*. The *Pĕnghulu* must eat in moderation of the feast, and may not make a second meal from its remains, if there are any. His "Sakai" are, however, not prohibited from doing so, provided that what is left over is hidden from him and that he has no knowledge of the matter.

Before the feast takes place, "when the fowls go up to their perches, and the Cicada (*Bisan*) is heard," the camphor-seekers call out (*bĕrtĕriak*) to the Camphor Spirit as follows:—

Bisan, O Bisan!
Bisan ulu ayer, hilir ayer,
Pĕngadap chindir, pĕnĕkan chindir,
Koh mambong minta 'mbin kapor yang sa-pĕnoh isi.
Koh mambong minta 'mbin kapor Sieng-Pĕngĕlat,

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[1] Camphor tabu language.

[2] The term *Bisan* is not restricted to the Spirit of Camphor. it is really a coefficient meaning "an animated being."

Sieng-Kalu, Sieng-Pĕnĕpang,
Koh minta lau pada ai,
Bih bulih bih, tongkat tĕrang.

This invocation is chiefly in the *Bahasa Kapor*, though it may be noted that the ordinary Malay word for "water" (*ayer*) is used instead of the *Bahasa Kapor* word *sĕmpĕloh*. It may be translated as follows:—

Bisans, O Bisans!
Bisans of the headwaters, Bisans of the lower reaches,
In front of the hut, behind the hut,
We ask you to give us camphor (trees), with full contents.
We ask you to give us camphor of Singapore,
Trengganu, and Pahang.
We ask you to give us,
Without fail, to-morrow morning.

After this the *Pĕnghulu*, who has gone out of the hut, throws into it some handfuls of rice in the husk, while his "Sakai" remain quietly within.

When the feast is finished the *Pĕnghulu* recites, partly on camphor tabu language, an imaginary conversation between a *Bisan* (Camphor Spirit) and her mother, as follows:—

1. Bisan. "*Mak, Mak! Apa pichin dalam sĕmpĕloh?*"
2. Mother. "*Yak-lah, dayang, sĕluang badak.*"
3. B. "*Apa sĕbab sĕluang lari?*"
4. M. "*Itu, dayang, bĕrnama sĕbarau bujang.*"
5. B. "*Mak, Mak! Apa pichin mĕnĕkoh batang kayu?*"
6. M. "*Yak-lah, dayang, 'dupan Pĕnghulu Muda.*"
7. B. "*Amboi, lĕmbut-nya, mak, pinggang Pĕnghulu Muda!*"
8. M. "*Yak-lah, dayang, aik jamu Pĕnghulu Muda ĕmping bĕrkuah!*"

This may be translated:—

1. B. "Mother, Mother! What thing is that in the water?"
2. M. "That, maiden, is a *sĕluang badak*."
3. B. "Why does the *sĕluang* fly?"
4. M. "Because, maiden, of the *sĕbarau bujang*."
5. B. "Mother, Mother! What is that thing that eats the trunks of the trees?"
6. M. "That, maiden, is the livelihood of the Penghulu Muda."
7. B. "Good gracious, how pliant (thin), mother, is the waist of the Penghulu Muda!"

8. M. "Yes, maiden, you must feast the Penghulu Muda on *ĕmping* with sauce!"

One or two points in this recitation call for an explanation. Lines one, two, three, and four seem to be purposeless. The *seluang badak* is a kind of small fish and the *sĕbarau* is a large sort which preys upon such small-fry. *Sĕbarau bujang* (bachelor *sĕbarau*) is, perhaps, a distinct variety or species. The fifth and the following lines, however, are not without meaning. The *Bisan* asks what is cutting into the tree-trunk and her mother replies that it is the Penghulu Kapor's axe (his livelihood). The Bisan seeing the slight haft of the axe, says to her mother, "How thin the Penghulu's waist is!" To this her mother replies, "Yes, you must feed him well with *ĕmping* (crushed rice) in sauce (*i.e.* camphor)."

After the feast certain verses are sung, this ceremony being known as *bĕrpiu*. The *Pĕnghulu Kapor*, Dolah bin Mapak, from whom I got a portion of my information, said that he could not recite them for me as it was tabu for him to do so. If he did, he would not get any camphor when he went in search of it again. Furthermore he seemed to be afraid that, if he broke the tabu, the Camphor Spirits might afflict him with sickness or some other misfortune. My chief informant, Dolah bin Udah, the former "Sakai," told me that the *Pĕnghulu* must chant the verses in the hut, and that if he hears one of his "Sakai" singing them at any other time, he fines him a chopping-knife, an adze-blade and an adze-haft. From him I obtained the only fragment of the *bĕrpiu* verses that he could remember:—

Dari pauh[1] *ka-pĕrmatang,*
Singgah mĕrapat kĕtam[2] *kĕmudi.*
Dari jauh sahaya datang,
Dĕngar Bisan murah budi.

From the *pauh*-tree to the ridge,
Visit and fix up your rudder-board.
I come from afar,
Hearing that *Bisan* is generous of heart.

I have mentioned above that there are certain restrictions by which both the *Pĕnghulu Kapor* and his "Sakai" are bound, but that they are more numerous in the case of the *Pĕnghulu* than in that of his followers.

For the first three days of the search for camphor, none of those employed in it must bathe, have intercourse with a

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[1] *Pauh* is the name of a species of wild mango. The first and third lines are from one of the commonest of Malay *pantun*.

[2] Or, I believe, *gĕtang* in the Kedah dialect.

woman, or put oil on their hair; moreover during the whole time he is occupied in camphor-seeking, the *Pĕnghulu Kapor*, whether in the jungle, or at home in his village, must not tell a lie, steal "even a cent," or have intercourse with a woman. It is regarded as an offence if one of the "Sakai" sleeps on after the *Pĕnghulu* and his companions are astir, and he is forced to drink a little of the *Pĕnghulu's* urine, or some water in which chillies have been pounded up.

The *Pĕnghulu* relies upon his dreams to afford him an indication of whether the search will prove lucky or the reverse, while should he, before starting on a camphor-search, consider his dreams unfavourable, he will defer the expedition till he is satisfied that it will have a lucky outcome.

It is thought that if the *Pĕnghulu Kapor* dreams of carrying rice, or of a princess, a tree full of camphor will be found; if of carrying salt in a back-basket, or of diving into the river, that the party will be chased and stung by wasps; if of fighting, or of a woman being in love with him, that somebody will be taken by a tiger; if of a child wounded over the eyebrow, that little camphor will be obtained

According to a legend there were originally seven *Pĕnghulu Kapor*, each of whom employed a different method of ascertaining whether a tree contained camphor, and spoke a slightly different *Bahasa Kapor*. Nowadays all the *Pĕnghulu Kapor*, I was told, test a tree by smelling a chip of its wood, but it is said that differences in the tabu language of certain *Pĕnghulu* are due to this seven-fold origin.

According to one account the seven *Pĕnghulu* who were brothers, were named as follows. Penghulu Chium, who tried a tree by smelling it; Penghulu Sulor, who, I understand, inspected the trees with a torch; Penghulu Buboh, who looked for round lumps of camphor (*buboh*), exuding from a tree; Penghulu Puar who looked for small slits in the bark (*puar*), which contained camphor; Penghulu Kepang, who cut notches in the trees and smelt them; Penghulu Pandang, who knew at sight whether a tree contained camphor, and the Penghulu Bongsu, the youngest brother.

Another version has it that the seven were named Penghulu Jangkar, Penghulu Batang, Penghulu Dahan, Penghulu Ranting, Penghulu Daun, Penghulu Tunggul and Penghulu Jala. Penghulu Jangkar tried a tree by smelling its roots (*jangkar* in the tabu language); Penghulu Dahan the branches; Penghulu Ranting the twigs, Penghulu Daun the leaves, Penghulu Tunggul the base of the tree, while Penghulu Jala caught the tree in a casting-net (*jala*) if it fell into a river.

I give below a story about these seven men which was told to me by *Pĕnghulu Kapor*, Dolah bin Mapak. The first list of the names is his.

The Legend of The Camphor Princess.

All these seven Penghulus once went to the jungle, and six of them worked at camphor-getting; but the seventh and youngest, Penghulu Bongsu, did nothing but sleep in the hut day and night. The six brothers came back, bringing with them three or four katties of camphor each evening, but the seventh did nothing.

When they had been in the jungle for about fourteen days, the six brothers returned to their village, leaving the seventh behind.

After they had gone home, Penghulu Bongsu, who had set off by himself to fish, espied a princess bathing in the stream at a place where it plunged down from a mountain.

He walked carefully so that she should not know of his presence and caught her by her hair, which was seven cubits (*hasta*) long, while she was bathing in the stream. Then the princess said to him, "Do you wish to follow me?" Penghulu Bongsu replied, "I wish to follow you; that is why I caught you by the hair." "If you wish to follow me," said the princess, "do not speak."

Then the princess took him up into a camphor-tree—her house.

Now after Penghulu Bongsu had been with her for seven days the princess asked him why he looked so sad, and Penghulu Bongsu replied that he was thinking of his wife and children—for he was married.

So the princess asked him to bring his carrying-basket. She combed her hair over it, and, as she combed, the camphor fell from her hair into it, until it was full.

Then the princess said to Penghulu Bongsu, "When the people of your village ask you where you have been, keep silence."

After this she pointed out the way to the village, and Penghulu Bongsu, leaving her in the jungle, returned home carrying the camphor with him; but when his brothers asked him whence he had got it, he was silent.

He sold the camphor and paid his debts; then, when seven days had passed, he returned to the jungle, according to a promise that he had made to the princess. He stayed with her for seven days, and at the end of that time persuaded her to go back to his village with him.

When the princess arrived at the village she told Penghulu Bongsu to build a house for her in which she could keep herself shut up in safety. "For," said she, "if the Raja hears about me, he will kill you and try to take me for himself, though I shall be able to fly away."

Now while the princess was living in the new house that Penghulu Bongsu had built for her, and shortly after she had given birth to a female child, the Raja called Penghulu Bongsu

to his palace; but, before he started, the princess said to him, "Whatever the Raja orders you to do, do; unless he tells you to sing the magical camphor chants (*bĕrpiu*) which I have taught you."

Penghulu Bongsu presented himself before the Raja, and the Raja ordered him to show him how he searched for camphor, and to recite the magical chants that he sang.

Penghulu Bongsu at first refused, but on the Raja threatening to kiil him, he began to sing the camphor-chants. He had not sung more than three verses when his wife, leaving the child in its swinging cradle, flew[1] out of the house, in which she had shut herself up, through a small hole, and perched on a coconut-tree to wait for him.

On Penghulu Bongsu's return, not finding his wife in the house, but hearing the noise, "Kok-kok-kok" which she made in the tree, he took his child on his back, and followed the sound made by the princess as she flew off into the jungle; after which he was never seen again.

[While he was cutting his way through the undergrowth in the jungle, he accidentally wounded his child above the eyebrow with his chopping knife. And that is the reason why, if anyone dreams of a child wounded in this way, he will not get much camphor.]

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[1] She became a Cicada.

VI. THE CAMPHOR LANGUAGE OF JOHORE AND SOUTHERN PAHANG.

By R. O. Winstedt.

The following collection of words and phrases from the *Bahasa Kapor* or *Paing Kapor* "The Camphor Language" is compiled from lists recorded by Logan ("Journal of the Indian Archipelago," Vol. I, p. 263), by Messrs. Lake and Kelsall ("J.R.A.S., S.B. No. 26, pp. 39-56), by Mr. Maartenz of the F.M.S. Forest Department from Endau in 1907 (hitherto unpublished), by Mr. I. Evans of the F.M.S. Museums' Department from Endau in 1917 (unpublished), and by Mr. Sircom of the F.M.S. Civil Service from Rompin in 1911 (unpublished). Mr. Sircom's list is particularly full and valuable. It was collected from two informants, Lamang a Sakai *Pĕnghulu* of Tanggong and from Kolak a *Pĕnghulu Kapor* of Tilan, both places in the district of Rompin, Pahang. Kolak told Mr. Sircom that the *Paing Kapor* he spoke was that of Johore, whence his family originally came. Mr. Sircom observes, that the pronunciation of Malay words is sometimes distorted—e.g. *dalam* is pronounced *dĕlĕm*, *pĕnyayap* as *pĕnyeyip*, *pĕmanjang* as *pĕmĕnying*, and so on. Mr. Evans found *alamat* pronounced *ehlamat* and *pĕnghangat* as *pahangat*. The names of trees and plants are not tabu, and where tabu words are not required Malay is employed.

There is nothing to add to the analysis of the language in Skeat and Blagden's "Pagan Races," Vol. II, pp. 414-431.

Study of the comparative vocabulary in "Pagan Races" will show that a large number of words in my section D, would seem to have no cognate forms in the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula:—a few resemble Mon words. But we have not solved entirely the principles on which this esoteric language is constructed, except in the case of words and phrases obviously Malay. *Chĕngkĕrat beh pĕngĕrip* "The elephant-without-gnawers, the tuskless elephant" is a very artificial synonym for a rhinoceros, but it is intelligible. But take *kawat* "breast, old, iron pot, fathom"—here Blagden remarks that several distinct words seem to have been run together—*kawat* (Mal., Jav.) "wire"; *kawak* (Jav.) "old"; *kawan* "a measure of length for thread" to which may be added *kawah* (Mal.) "a cauldron." Or take *mambong*, *bisan*, *bintoh*—they seem to be used as we use words like "thingamybob." Clearly the deliberate manipulation of aboriginal words is likely to defeat analysis. Again, the aboriginal dialects differ a little with almost every tribe. And here we have a purposely specialized vocabulary in a definite locality.

Finally, not all the aboriginal words of the Peninsula have been collected as yet: Messrs. Evans and Sircom have lately collected a quite new word *gĕnal, mĕngĕnal* for "10."

It is improbable that many more "Camphor" words will be collected but, as research extends, some of those unidentified in this list may perhaps be explained.

I have distinguished:—

(A) Malay words;

(B) Malay words mostly artificial, a few archaic or no longer (e.g. *nyaman*) common in the language of the Peninsula—(*pĕmandak* from *landak*, *pĕnyiku* from *siku*, *pĕmbahu* from *bahu* are evidently intentionally artificial variants from simpler ordinary Malay forms);

(C) Descriptive periphrases in Malay, or in Malay and some aboriginal word, a large class; and

(D) Words aboriginal, unidentified or uncertain; references being given to the comparative vocabulary in "Pagan Races."

Readers may compare the Patani Sea Language recorded by Annandale in "Fasciculi Malayenses," Part I, pp. 84-6. In tabu vocabularies of Patani and Pahang Malay, as well as in the "Camphor Language," *chewe* is used for "animal."

E.—Evans.
K.—Lake and Kelsall.
L.—Logan.
M.—Maartenz.
S.—Sircom.

A.

Ashamed	*aib* (*aiep* K.)
Boat	*lopek* E., K., L., M.
Bow, to	*mĕmbongkok* S.
Camphor	*kapur Barus* E.
Carry, bring, take	*'mbin* E., K., M. (*ambin* Mal.)
Damage	*chachat* K.
Dream	*ehlamat* E. (*alamat* Ar.)
Eight	*lapan* (*lepen* K.)
Fish	*ikan* M.
Fly	*langau* S.
Foolish	*bĕngong* S.
Four	*ĕmpat* M.
Fruit	*buah* K.
Good, nice, convenient, pretty	*nyaman* S., *nyamon* K.
Hit a mark, to	*singgah* K.
Hungry	*bolur* K., *bulur* S.
Ipoh (tree)	*upas* K.
Join	*chantum* S.
Lamp, light	*suloh* K.

Many	*ramai* S.
Old	*tua* M.
Rattan	*akar* M.
See	*jĕngok* E., K., S., *tilek* K.
Skin	*kulit* M.
Strong, hard	*tĕgap* K.
Thin	*dĕngkek* M., S.
Three	*tiga* M.
Trap (of thorny flagella)	*tuar* K.
True	*lurus* K.
Wood-pecker	*bĕlatok* M.
Young	*muda* M.

B.

		Ordinary Malay Form.
Acid	*pĕmasam* S., *pĕngasam* S.	*asam.*
Acquainted, with; to be	*pĕngĕnal* K.	*kĕnal.*
Act, to	*pĕmuat* K.	*buat.*
Ankle	*bĕkong pĕngĕring* S.	*buku* (*tulang kĕring*).
Ashes	*pĕngabu*	*abu.*
Axe, iron, mark chopper, knife K., S.	*pĕranchas* E., K., L., M.; *pĕranchas pĕnĕgap* S.	cf. *panchong, chantas.*
Beak	*pĕnyatok* S.	*patok* "*to peck.*"
Before	*pĕngadap* S.	*di-hadapan.*
Bent	*pĕmusing* S.	*pusing* "*to turn round.*"
Bitter	*pĕmahit* S.	*pahit.*
Burn, to; light, to	*mĕlagat* S.	*mĕlĕkat.*
Chin (and beard S.)	*pĕnyagu*	*dagu.*
Clear, bright	*pĕnĕrang*	*tĕrang.*
Clearing	*pĕmadang* M., S.	*padang.*
Climb, to	*tingkat* E., K., *ningkat* M., S.	cf. *tingkat* "*upper storey.*"
Cough	*bĕlatok*	*batok.*
Cut, chop, to	*mĕranchas* S.	cf. 'axe.'
Deep	*pĕndalam* S.	*dalam.*
Dry, drought	*pĕnyĕring* S.	*kĕring* 'dry.'
Dust	*pĕngabok* E.	*abok.*
Elbow	*pĕnyiku* M., S.	*siku.*
Fell, to	*mĕmanchas, mĕmantil* K., *mĕmantir* E.	*patil* 'axe.'
Foot	*pĕnapak jauh* K., S.	*tapak* 'sole.'
Gaur	*pĕmadang* M.	*padang, ladang* "plain," *sĕladang* "gaur."
Gain	*bĕrupas* K.	*upah.*

		Ordinary Malay form.
Green	*pĕngijau* S.	*ijau.*
Grow	*mĕmantil* K.	cf. *muntil* 'plump.'
Head	*mubun* S.	*ubun.* [head.
Headcloth	*ikat mubun* S.	= lit. binding the
Heel	*pĕnapak pĕnĕkan* S.	*tapak* 'sole'; *tĕkan* 'to press.'
Join, stick, to	*pĕlĕkat* S.	*lĕkat.*
Keep, shut, to	*pĕnaroh* S.	*taroh.*
Kiss	*pĕnchium* S.	*chium.*
Know	*pĕnahu* K., S.	*tahu.*
Knuckle	*bĕkong* S.	*buku* (*jari*).
Lengthen, to	*pĕmanjang* K. [*kat* E.	*panjangkan.*
Lift up, to	*tingkat* M., *mĕnying-mĕningkat* S.	cf. *angkat, singkat.*
Magpie-robin	*surai* M.	*murai.*
Navel	*pĕmuntil* S.	cf. *puting.*
Porcupine	*pĕmandak* M.	*landak.*
Quick, (to shake)	*mĕlĕgat* K.	cf. *ligat*, 'quick of revolving tops.'
Rise, to	*mĕnyingkat* E.	cf. 'lift up, to.'
Rub, to	*kulut* K.	*lulut, urut.*
Sand-fly	*pĕnchadok* K.	? The digger, biter.
Sew, to	*pĕnyimat* K.	cf. *sĕmat.*
Scratch	*pĕngais* S.	*kais.*
Shoulder	*pĕmbahu* M.	*bahu.*
Sole; to tread	*pĕnapak* S.	*tapak.*
Swallow, to	*pĕnĕlan* S.	*tĕlan.*
Weigh, to	*pĕnimbang* S.	*timbang.*
Wing	*pĕnyayap* S.	*sayap.*
Yellow	*pĕnguning* S.	*kuning.*

C.

		Literal meaning.
Adjutant-bird	*rangong* S.	The long-legged straddler.
All	*sa-pĕnyengok* S.	At one glance.
Alive, age, wing, breath, breathe, lung.	*pĕniup* E., K., S.	Blowing.
Ant	*pĕnchodok* M., S.	The digger.
Areca-nut	*buah kĕlat*, *pĕngĕlat* K., L., S.	Astringent.
Arm	*pĕnganah* E.	....
Around	*bĕpĕmusing* K.	Revolving.
Axe	*puting* L., *pĕmut-ing* E., *pĕmuting* L., M. *pĕnĕngar* E.	The tagged. .... The listener.
	pĕnĕngar	

		Literal meaning.
Back, to go	*bĕrlipat* L., M.	To fold.
Bait	*pĕngumpan pĕnyelah* S.	The cheating bait.
Bamboo	*pĕnurun* S.,	The drooper.
,,	*kayu mambong* S.	The hollow-wood.
Banana	*buah bĕrsikat* S.	The fruit in rows.
Bark, to	*mĕmbatok* S.	To cough.
Beans	*buah akar* K.	Fruit of creepers.
Bear	*sĕlĕmah pĕnyimpul* S.	? The weak one that curls up.
Beard	*pĕnurun pĕmamah* K.	Drooper-of-the-chewer.
Bed	*tĕmpat mĕrapat* E.	Cuddling place.
Bee	*bĕnih dahan* S.,	Seeds on branches.
,,	*pĕngurong d.* M.,	Swarmers on branches.
,,	*chewe d.* L.	Insects on branches.
Belt	*ikat (mambong)*	Belly-binder.
Betel-box	*lopek* E.	Boat.
Bite, chew, to	*kĕrip, pĕngĕrep* S.	To gnaw (of mice).
Blood	*gĕtah* K., M., S., *pĕngĕtah* S.	Sap.
,,	*sĕmpĕloh* S.	Moisture.
Body, flesh, trunk of tree	*isi* E., K., S., *mambong isi* S.	Contents.
Bone, leg, shoulder, tooth, buttress of tree	*pĕnĕgap* K., M., S., *p. isi* S.	Strengthener.
Boot	*pĕnĕgap pĕnapak* E.	Strengthener of the sole.
Bosom, breasts	*pĕnujur* S.	The jutter-out.
,, ,,	*buah pĕngadap* S.	Fruits of the chest.
Brain	*kapur puteh* S.,	White lime (or camphor.
,,	*isi mumbun* S.	Contents of head.
Breast, chest	*pĕngadap* S., *pĕngha-dapan* M.	The front.
Breathe, to *v.*, Alive	....	....
Brother	*kaum* (Ar.) K.	Relation.
Brow	*pĕnyengok pĕnjauh* S.	The far-seer.
Buy, to	*muning* L.	To give yellow coin.
Care, to take	*chĕlek* K.	To open one's eyes.
Casting-net	*pĕnibar* K.	The flung.
Cat	*sĕlĕmah pĕngapor* S.	The kitchen tiger.
Civet	*pĕnurun* S.	The climber-down.
Centipede	*simpai* S.	The noose.
Cheek	*pĕngadap* M.	(1) The front.
,,	*pĕnampar* S.	(2) ? *pĕnampak*: cf. 'face.'

		Literal meaning.
Chin	*pĕmamah* S.	The chewer.
Chew *v.*, Bite	....	....
Clouds	*pĕnyungkup* K., *sĕ-rongkop* S.	The coverer.
Claw	*puchok pĕngolek* S.	End of the swayer.
Coconut	*buah pulau* E., L.	Fruit of the island.
	buah kukur L.	Fruit for the scraper.
Coat	*pĕnyurop* L.	? Coverer (*turap*).
Cook, to	*hangat* M., *mĕnghang-at* E.	To heat.
Crab	*pĕnyepet* S.	The nipper.
	pĕnchodok sĕmpĕloh S.	The digger in the water.
Creese	*tajam sĕngkat* L.	The short and sharp.
Cry, to weep	*bĕsĕmpĕloh pĕningok* S.	To damp the peepers.
Custom	*pĕrentah* K.	Rule.
Damar, resin	*soloh* K.	Torch.
Danger	*lipat* K.	? 'coil' or 'to return.'
Dark, shade	*tongkat longsop*, S., *pĕnggĕlap*	D. 39, p 594.
Dart	*buah jauh bunyi* K.	Fruit of the far-[sounder.
Day, to	*tongkat ini* S., E.	D. 39, p. 574.
,, , yester-	*sa-tongkat* S.	....
,, , to-morrow	*tongkat chĕlek* S.	....
Debt	*kuning* K.	Yellow (coin).
Deer	*sabaliu* L., *s'balieh* K.	? *si-bĕliau.*
Dig, to	*pĕnchodok, pichodok* E.	To dig with a long spade.
Doctor	*tĕrus pĕnengok* S.	The seer-through.
Ear, sound	*pĕnĕngar* E., K., L., M., S.	The hearer.
Elbow	*pĕnyigong* S.	The pusher.
Eggs	*buah* S.	Fruit.
,, , to lay	*bĕrbuah* S.	To bear fruit.
Egret	*pĕmuteh*	The white one.
Ember	*pĕlĕkat pĕnghangat* E.	The-lit-by-the-heat.
End	*puchok* K., S.	Tip, shoot.
Eye	*pĕnengok* E., K., M., S. *pĕnyengok* L.;	The seer.
	pĕnengok jauh S.	The far-seer.
Eye-lid	*sĕlaput* S.	Covering film.
Face	*hadap* K., *pĕnghadap* S.;	Front.
,,	*pĕngampak* S.	? The seer.
Far, of place, time	*awal*	? Ar., beginning.
Fast, a	*pĕnadah*	? Lifting of hands in prayer.
Fat	*pangkat isi* K.	The raiser of stuffing.

		Literal meaning.
Father	*ibu asal* S.	Original parent.
Feathers	*pĕnurun* (*bisan*) K., S.	The droopers.
Fence	*sasak* K.	Wattled.
Finger	*pĕnyampai* S.	? The tapering.
,,	*pĕngolek* S.	? The swayers.
Fire	*pĕnghangat* E., I., M., S.	The heater.
,, -wood	*pĕlĕkat* E.	The heated.
,, log (*puntong*)	,, *pĕhangat* E.	The heated by fire.
Firefly	*suloh penyengok* S.	Torch of the eyes.
Fish	*pĕngumpan* E., K., S.	Taker of bait.
Fish-trap	*mamong bĕhinyap* S.	The spiked (*injap*) ? empty one.
Flower	*pĕngĕmbang* M., S.;	The opener.
,,	*putek* S.	Pistil.
Fly, a	*pĕngurong* K, M.	Swarmers.
Fly, to	*bĕrsayap* M.	To wing.
Foam	*pĕngabor* S.	The flingers *or* flung.
Fold	*balik* S.	To turn back.
Foot	*pĕnĕgap* E., K.	The strengthener.
,,	*pĕnapak* M., *p. jauh* S.	The sole.
Free	*pĕdas* K.	The pungent.
Frog	*si-lunchat* M.	The leaper.
Gambir	*pĕngĕlat* E., *gĕtah pahit* E., *kĕpahit* L.	The astringent; bitter of sap.
God	*pĕnadah* K.	To-whom-hands-are-raised.
Gold	*pĕmuning* K., L., *pĕnguning* S.	The yellow.
Gong	*jauh pĕnĕngar* E.	Far-sounder.
Hair (fin S.)	*pĕnurun* (*tĕlombong*) E., K., S.	Droopers of the head.
,,	*daun* L.	Leaves.
Hand	*pĕngolek* S., *sĕlampai*	*v.* Finger.
Hang	*buai* S.	To swing.
Head	*tĕlombong* E., L., *lombong* M.	? Nut.
,, -kerchief	*pĕmilit tĕlombong* E.	Head-wrapper.
Heart	*buah* S.	Fruit.
Hole	*mambong* K. (cf. *pĕm-ambong* 'to bury' K.)	? The empty.
Honey	*pĕmanis* (*pĕngurong dahan*) M.	Sweet of bees.
	sĕmpĕloh tajam buntut S.	Water of 'sting-tails.'
	sĕmpĕloh pĕnĕkoh S.	Water for eating.
Hot	*pĕngĕring* L., M., *pĕnjĕring*	The drier-up.

		Literal meaning.
Hungry	*rengkai* E., K.	? The shrivelled.
Ivory *v.* Tooth	....	....
Joint	*pĕlĕmbut* S., *pĕlatah* S.	The supple.
Knee	*pĕlipat* S.	The folder.
	sturut M.	? *si-turut* 'the yielder.'
Lake	*mambong dalam* K.	The deep ? void.
Lamp	*pĕhangat* K.	The heater.
Leaky	*bĕmambong*	? Having holes.
Left	*kidal* S.	Left-handed.
Leg	*pĕnĕgap* S. p. *pĕnjauh* S.	The (distant) strengthener.
Lightning *v.* Day	*pĕliling tongkat* K., *tongkat chĕlek* S.	Circler of the sky.
Lip *v.* Tooth	....	....
Loin-cloth, wearing a.	*bĕrsangkĕlit* S.	Wearing a band round one's trunk } Cf. *sĕngkĕlit*
Loris	*lompat dahan* M.	Leaper on branches.
Lungs *v.* Alive	*pĕnĕrang* S.	The bright, clear.
Mad	*mabok* K.	Intoxicated.
Maize	*buah bĕrjambul* E.	The tufted fruit.
Malays	*kaum masin* E.	Sea relations.
Male	*kotol* K., *kaum kutul* S., *sakai ajul* S.	Cf. *kontol* 'whimble-whamble, penis.'
Mat	*pĕngumbang p'ng'-mang* K.	The unfolder (*kĕmbang*).
Medicine	*upas* K., S.	Poison.
Milk *v.* water	*sĕmpĕloh isi* S.	Water from inside.
Mix	*bĕrkaum* S.	? Cf. *bĕrgaul* and *kaum*.
Monkey, gibbon	*lompat dahan* M., *limbai dahan* S.	Leaper on branches. Swinger on branches.
,, ,,		
Moon *v.* Day	*tongkat* S., *tongkap gĕlap* K., L., *t. ningkat* S. *pĕnyengok tongkat gĕlap* E.	....
Mosquito	*pĕnchodok pĕnĕkoh isi* M.	The one that digs and eats into flesh.
Mother-in-law	*ibu kutul* S.	Mother on the male side, old mother.
,,	*ibu'nak kawat* S.	....
Moustache	*pĕnurun pĕmamah* E., K., M., S.	Droopers of the chewer.
,,	*pĕnurun pĕngĕrip* E., M.	Droopers of the gnawers.

		Literal meaning.
Mouth	*pĕmamah* E., K., L., *pĕnĕkoh* S.	Chewer, eater.
Musket	*jauh bunyi* L.	Far-sounder.
Nail	*pĕmentek* K.	? The driven (*pantak*). [per of lice.
,, of finger	*pĕngĕtong* S.	? cf. *gĕtu*. 'The nip-
Name	*isik* K.	? *isi* 'contents.'
Narrow	*pĕngĕlap* S.	The dark.
Night *v.* Day, moon	*tongkat gĕlap* L., E.	D. 39, p. 574.
	gĕlap M.	Dark.
	gĕlap tulus S.	Truly dark.
	tongkat langsom S.	....
,, , last	*sa-tongkat gĕlap*	....
Nose	*pĕnchium* E. L., K., M., S.	The smeller.
,,	*pĕnajas* S.	The breather.
Nostril	*pĕnchium* S. *mambong p.*	(Hole of) the smeller.
Oil	*sĕmpĕloh buah pulau*	Moisture of the coconut.
Order	*pĕrentah* K.	Governance.
,,	*kuning* K.	(Royal) yellow.
Oar	*chuie pĕmaut* E.;	D. 5, p. 676.
,,	*sayap* E.	,, ,,
Paddle	*chuie* E., K.;	,, ,,
	pĕnguit L.;	The paddler.
	pĕmaut K.	The puller.
Person, people	*kaum* (Ar.) E., K., M., S.	People, family.
	sakai S.	Followers, serfs.
Pig	*kaki pandak* L.,	Short legs.
	sĕmongkor E., K., L., M., S.	The grouter.
Pineapple	*si-jambul* K.	The tufted.
Poison	*pĕmabok* K.	Intoxication.
Poisonous	*pĕdas* E., S.	Pungent.
Pole	*pĕnĕkan* K.	? The pusher.
Prawn	*pĕnyĕpit* K.	The nipper.
Pretty	*tulus* S.	Downright, sincere.
Python	*akar* E., K., M., *a. bagin* S.	(large) liana.
Quarrel	*gagah* S.	Threatening.
Rambutan *v.* Hair	*buah bĕnurun* M.	The hairy fruit.
Rat	*pĕngĕrip* K., M., S.	The gnawer.
Rattan	*urat* L., *pĕngurat* S	The sinew.
,,	*pĕngĕrek* K.	The tightener.
,,	*pĕngikat* E., K., S.	The binder.
,, (*rotan layar*)	*pĕngikat bĕrsayap* E.	The winged binder.
,, (*r. batu*)	*pĕngikat choh-ut* E.	The stone binder.

		Literal meaning.
Rattan (*rotan tung-gal*)	*pĕngikat sa-mambong* E.	The solitary binder.
Read, to	*pĕmamah* K.	To chew, wag the jaws.
Red *v.* Blood	*bĕrgĕtah* S.	Bloody.
Return	*bĕrlipat* E., L., S.	To fold back.
Rice (*pulut*)	*buah rumput mohut* E.	....
,, (*padi*)	*buah rumput* E., L., M., S., *b. r. puteh* S	Grass; fruit of grass.
,, (*nasi*)	*kanji* S.	Rice-gruel.
Roar, to	*bĕrmamah* S.	To eat, wag the jaws.
Rotten	*mambong* K.	? empty.
Roll	*bĕrlipat* S.	To fold.
Sail	*sayap* K.	Wings.
Salt	*pĕmasin* E., K., M., S.	The salty.
Same	*kumpul* K.	Collected together.
Say	*bĕrpĕmamah* S.	To wag the mouth.
Sand	*pĕnabur* K., S.	The strewn.
Scented	*bĕrnyaman tulus*	Truly sweet.
Scorpion	*simpai* K.	The fastener.
,,	*pĕnyĕpit* K.	The nipper.
Sea *v.* Water, Foam	*sĕmploh pĕmasin.*	Salt water.
	,, *pĕngabor.*	Foam water.
Seed	*pĕnengok buah*	The eye of a fruit.
Shallow	*ringkai* S.	? withered up.
Shore	*kĕring* K.	Dry.
Shoulder	*pĕmikul* S.	Carrier of loads.
Silver, tin, dollar, white.	*pĕmuteh* K.	The white.
Sireh-leaf	*pĕmĕdas* L., M., S.	The pungent.
Skirt	*sarong pumpun* K.	The bundled skirt.
Skull	*pĕnĕgap mubun* S.	Bone of the head.
Sky	*pĕrungkup, sĕrung-kup* S.	The cover.
Sleep	*mĕrapat* E., K., S.	Cuddle.
Small	*putek* S.	Bud of fruit.
Smoke	*pĕngasap pĕhangat* M.	Smoke of fire.
Snake	*akar* E.	Liana.
Snore	*mĕrapat jauh bunyi* M.	To cuddle with loud noise.
Soldiers	*orang pĕdas, kaum p.* K.	Men hot (to fight).
Spark	*bunga pĕhangat* K.	Flowers of the heater
Spear	*pĕnahan* M., S., *pĕn-dahan* L.	? The detainer.
Spine *v.* Back	*pĕnurus* S.	The pillar (*turus*).
	pĕnĕgap pĕnĕkan S.	Bone of the back.

		Literal meaning.
Spleen *v.* Blood	*gumpal pĕngĕtah* S.	A lump of blood.
Spring, a, well	*pĕnengok sĕmpĕloh* K.	Eye of water. cf. (*mata ayer*).
Star *v.* Night	*pĕnabur* K., L., M.	The strewn.
Day	,, *pĕnĕrang* E.	The strewn lights.
	anak tongkat K.	Children of the sky.
Steamer	*lopek pĕhangai* E.	The fire-boat.
Sting	*pĕnajam buntut* S.	The sharp of the tail.
Sugar	*pĕmanis* E., L.	The sweetener.
Summit	*puchok* S.	End, tip.
Sun *v.* Day	*tongkat tĕrang* E., K., L., M., S.	The prop of light.
	tongkat chĕlek	,, ,, ,, ,,
	pĕnyengok tongkat tĕrang E.	.....
Swear	*bĕrkuning* K.	? Stake gold.
Sword	*manchong* K.	Beheading.
Tail	*pĕnurun* K.	The down-drooper.
	pĕngipas S.	The brusher.
Talk	*pĕmamah* S.	To wag the jaws.
Tame	*bĕrapat isi* S.	Cuddling up to a body.
Tear, a	*sĕmpĕloh pĕnyengok* S.	Water of the eyes.
Thatch	*pĕrungkup* K.	The overarching.
Thumb *v.* Hand	*ibu pĕngolek*, S., *ibu pĕnyampai* S.	..
Thunder	*jauh bunyi tongkat* K.	Far-sounder of the sky.
Tiger	*si-limma* L., *sĕlĕmah* E., K., M., S.	'The weak one' *si-lĕmah.*
Tight	*pĕngurat* S.	The sinewy.
	gĕsing S.	?
Tin *v.* Silver	..	..
Tobacco	*pĕngayal* K., L, M., *pĕngayar* E., S.	The intoxicator. (*khayal* Ar.).
Tooth, beak, ivory, horn, rat.	*pĕngĕrip* E., K., L., M., S.	The gnawer.
Tough	*pĕnĕgap isi* S.	With strong con- [tents.
Trousers	*sarong bingkai.* L.	Skirt with rim round the top = ? with a waist-band.
Umbrella, flower	*pĕngĕmbang* E.	The opener.
Voice	*pĕnyakap jauh* S.	The far-speaker.
Waist	*pĕlipat lĕmbek* S.	The soft folder.
Wash, bathe	*bĕrsĕmpĕloh* L., M., S.	To water one's self.
Wasp	*tajam buntut* E., M., S.	Sharp of tail.

		Literal meaning.
Water, river	*sĕmpĕloh* E., K., L., M., S.	Moisture (cf. *pĕloh*).
Wet *v.* wash	*bĕrsĕmpĕloh* S.	..
Wild	*pĕnjauh* S.	Distant.
Wind *v.* Alive	..	..
Yam (Amorphophallus, *kĕladi*).	*pĕngatal, pĕnggatal* S.	The itchy.
(*kĕledek*)	*pĕmanis* S.	The sweet.
	isi akar S.	The liana's contents.
(*ubi gadong*)	*isi mabok, kayu m.* M., S.	The intoxicator.
Yellow	*ĕmas* E., K.	Gold.
Young *v.* Pretty	*nyaman tulus* K., S.	Nice and Pretty.

D.

Note.—In the left-hand column M. = Malay; J. = Jakun; Sem. = Semang.

Afraid, run, stray, lose.	*libun* K., *bĕlibun* S., *mĕlibun* S., *bĕlium* [now M.	A. 42, p. 511.
Afterwards,	*d'binkai* K.	A. 47, p. 511.
Ant, red	*jĕndeka* M.	A. 101-112, p. 515.
Ant, white	*mambong tanah* M.	? 'Hole in the ground.'
Anus	*rojol* S., *lupek* S.	A. 118, p. 515.
Argus-pheasant	*lapian*	A. 128, p. 515.
? M. Arm, finger, hand, to hold	*pĕngolek* K., S.	{ F. 111, p. 603. { ? = 'The rolling.'
Ask for, to	*salol* S.	A. 165-6, p. 519.
? M. Aunt	*abang bisan* S.	..
Back, behind, afterwards, rudder, waist	*pĕnakan* K., *pĕnĕkan* S.	B. 6, p. 521
J. Baggage, animal	*pechem* S.	B. 16, p. 521.
,, goods	*pechem-pechem* K.	..
Banana, plantain	*buah suguh* K., *b. jingki* S.	F. 284, p. 615.
Bare	*pĕ-e pumpun* S.	
Bark, to	*mĕlagat kon* S. *bĕrkĕpang* E.	B. 59, p. 525.
Basket	*charok* K.	B. 67, p. 524.
? M. Bat, a	*bisan bĕrsayap* E., M., S., *b. bungkus* E., *b. chĕmeyim* S.	B. 72, p. 525

? M., a fruit		*bisan bĕrsayap* S., *b. kon* S.	M. 46, p. 655.
	Bathe, to	*bĕrsĕmpĕloh mambong* M.	*V.* Water (C)
	Be, to	*mĕngringat*	B. 88, p. 525.
	Bear, a	*pĕngapang* M., *kaum pĕngĕpang* S., *chewe pangpang* L., *chĕngĕrat* E.	B. 110, p. 526.
	Bear-cat	*pechem mĕrsik* S.	
? M.	Bear, to	*pĕnchemat* K.	
	Beat, prick, stab, to	*kĕpang* K., S., *bĕrkĕpang* S.	B. 121, p. 527.
? M.	Bee	*bisan bĕrgantong*	'The hanging creature.'
? M.	Beetle, coconut	*slit nĕkoh mambong kayu* M.	B. 143, p. 529.
? M.	Before	*mubun awal* S.	Taboo periphrasis Malay.
? M.	Belly	*mambong* L., S., *m. isi* S.	,, ,,
	Big, large wide, stout.	*bagin* K., S., *kori* K.	B., 205-6 212, p. 523.
? M.	Bird	*bisan* K., S., *b. bĕrsayap* E., K., M., S.	Taboo periphrasis.
	Black	*mĕrsik* E., *bĕrkawat.* S.	B. 240, p, 535.
? M.	Blade	*pĕnyingup* S.	..
	Blind	*lipanch* K., *lipach*, *lapata* M. (? M) *pantus pĕnyengok* S.	B. 244, p. 535.
	Blow-pipe	*pralis* S.	B. 263, p. 539.
? M.	,, , barrel	*mamung* S.	..
? M.	, muzzle	*kĕpantus mamung* S.	..
? M.	, quiver	*kayu mamung* S.	..
? M.	, dart	*pĕnĕgap pralis* S.	..
J.	, ,, -butt	*habung* S.	B. 302, p. 540.
J.	, ,, point	*pĕlatas* S.	..
J.	, ,,-sheath	*pakan* S.	..
	Blue	*beh siap* S.	..
	Blunt	*beh nĕkoh* S.	'Not eating.'
? M.	Boat	*lupet* S.	? = *lopek.* B. 317, p. 540.
? M.	Bold	*pĕdas mambong mĕrsek* S., *bintoh mamung* S.	? Malay periphrasis.
? M.	Bough	*mambong dahan* M.	,, ,,
J.	Break, split, tear	*chĕliher* K., *cheler* S., *chelher* S.	B. 373, p. 544.

	Breast	*pĕnĕkoh slek* S.	? The little thing, which is swallowed.
? M.	Bridge	*sĕrĕndong*	B. 393, p. 546 ? cf. *sĕndong*.
	Brittle	*pantus chĕliher* S.	? M.+J.
	Brother, elder	*abang ajul* S., *kaum na'jok* S.	..
	,, , younger	*abang kutul* S., *bisan na'jok* S.	..
? M.	Buffalo	*chewe wak* E., S.	'The lowing animal.'
? M.	Butterfly	*bisan pĕnyeyip* (?*pĕnyapap*) S.	'The flying creature.'
? M.	Bullocks	*pĕngipas jauh* S.	Cf. 'Tail.'
? J.	Call, to	*bĕrkluī* S.	G. 49, p. 620. C. 8, p. 552.
	Can	*tĕrsalor* S.	..
	Care, to take	*saior pĕnyengok* S.	C. 26, p. 553.
	Cap (*songkok*)	*chongkop tĕlombong-* E.	
	Careless	*langgap* K.	..
	Cat, civet	*mĕkoh tumang* M.	T 133, p. 739.
	,, , wild	*tumang pĕngabu* M.	..
	Change	*brajul* S.	..
	Charcoal, black	*m'rsek* K. S.	B. 240, p. 535.
	Chase *v.* Follow	*mĕlagat bĕtroh* S., *bĕtroh awal* S.	..
? M.	Chest, span, fathom, iron-pot, thigh	*kawat* K.	C. 89, p. 557. ? Malay periphrasis.
M.	Child (boy, girl)	*anak bisan kĕchoa* M.	S. 284, p. 716.
J.	Chopper	*wai* S.	Sircom's Jakun Vocs.
	Clean, to	*konlont* K., *pantus koloit* S.	C. 143, p. 560.
	Clever	*pĕnitek*	C. 161, p. 561.
	Cloth	*pompoing* K.	C. 177, p. 562.
	Cloud	*pacham tatengel* L.	B. 16, p. 521. ? Taboo (in Jakun).
	Coat	*pĕrĕsok* E.	
	Cockroach	*bisan chĕmeyip* S.	C. 193, p. 563; ? 'Winged creature.'
	Cold	*siap* E., K., L., M., *s. isi* S.	C 206, p. 564.
J.	Come, to; go, to.	*b'jok* K.	G. 43, p. 619.
	,, ,,	*bĕrsalor* S.	..
	Command	*cheloien* K.	C. 56, p. 675

M.	Conduct	*pranchasan* K.	? 'Line cut.'
	Cooked, soft	*mo'ot* S.	S. 337, p. 719.
	Cooking-place (*dapur*)	*balan* E.	
? M.	Copulate, to	*bĕrkutol* S., *yong* E.	*bĕrba-* Cf. 'Man.'
	Corner	*t'rosok* K.	C. 246, p. 566.
	Cough	*tĕkoh latop* S.	C. 250, p. 567.
? M.	Count	*pĕnchuret* S.	
M & J.	Crack	*na'chĕleher* S.	B. 373, p. 544.
	Creature, bird, wife, woman	*bisan* K., S.	W. 132, p. 761.
	Crocodile	*bagin* E., S., *bakin* M.	L. 119, p. 649.
M.	Crow	*mambong sayap pĕngitam* M.	'The black-winged thing.'
	,, , to	*bĕrpiah* S.	C. 281, p. 568.
	Cup	*s'lek* K.	C. 290, p. 568.
	Dance	*leek* K.	D. 11, p. 571.
M.	,,	*mĕranchas pĕngolek* S.	*V.* Cut, Hand; *supra.*
? M.	,,	*bĕrmĕlor* S.	? 'To wear jasmine.'
? M.	Daughter	*anak bisan* M., S. ,, *kutul* S.	*V.* 'Creature.'
M.	Day	*tongkat chĕlean* K.	D. 39, p. 574.
? M.	Dead, die, killed, maimed, quench, finished.	*pantus* L., M., S.	D. 39, p. 574,
	Deaf	*lipanch pĕnĕngar* K.	*V.* 'Blind' *supra.*
	,,	*beh pĕnĕngar* S.	J. & M.
	Deep.	*ningkat* S.	Cf. 'Lift up, to' *supra.*
	Deer (Rusa)	*chewe piu, ch. lapiu* S.	D. 68 (b), p. 578.
	,, (Kijang)	,, *lapiu* S., *ch. sĕlek* S., *sungong* L.	..
	,, Mouse-	*chewe sĕlek* S., *pasing pĕnimbok* E., *p. tonjing* E.	..
	Diarrhoea	*mikai s'pĕloh* M.	S. 187, p. 709.
	Difficult	*gagur* K.	D. 106, p. 580.
	,,	*rilus* S.	..
	Diligent	*lasek* K.	D. 110, p. 580.
	Dirty	*binyin* S.	D. 118, p. 581.
J.	Dog	*minchor* M., *minchol* S., *minchu* L.	D. 142-3, p. 583.
? M.	,,	*ninchor* E., *dupan* L., *cheweh kieng* E.	..
J.	,, wild-	*minchor sing* M., *minchol sing* S.	H. 90, p. 631.

? M.	Dove	*bisan pĕnchurek.*	..
	Down	*reneh* S., *awal pĕnĕkan* S.	..
	,, stream	*bingkai sĕmpĕloh* S.	*V.* 'Afterwards.'
	,, ,,	*pĕnangat sĕmpĕloh* S.	..
? M.	Drag	*mĕlagat tulus* S., *pĕngolek mĕlagat* S.	*V.* 'Quick' *supra.*
? M.	Drink	*mĕnĕkoh sĕmpĕloh* E. D. 165, p. 584.	
J.	,,	*jĕ'oh* S., *jo'oh* L.	..
	Durian	*buah nyinyar* S.	T. 94, p. 736.
	Early	*tĕngkalum* K.	*V.* 'Thorn.' M. 175, p. 661.
M.	Earth	*mambong tanah* M.	..
M.	Eat, peck.	*tĕkoh mĕnĕkoh* E., *tĕkok*; *nĕkoh* S.	E. 29, p. 589.
	Egg	*mĕmboh buah* M.	E. 34, p. 590.
? M.	Egret	*bisan pĕntol* S.	..
? M.	Elephant	*sĕgĕntil* L., M., *sagĕntir* E.	E. 51, p. 591.
	,,	*bagin pĕnĕgap, kori p.* K.	*V.* Big & Bone *supra.*
	Enough	*jengok, j. pĕnĕkoh* S.	? M.
? M.	Enter	*mĕnyĕlor.*	? 'Creeping.'
	Empty	*beh jĕngok* S.	*V.* 'Enough' and
		beh apa pechiem S.	'Baggage' *supra.*
M.	Evening	*tongkat lom, t. nak gĕlap.*	Cf. *malam.*
	Faded	*nyak mot* S.	..
? M.	Fall, spill, live at, loss.	*lahor* K.	F. 21, p. 596.
? M.	Far	*awal* S.	? 'Beginning' Ar.
	Fart	*mĕlaput* S.	..
	Fat	*bagin* S., *b. isi* S.	B. 212, p. 533.
	Father	*pa'bisan* M., *ibu kawat* S.	*V.* 'Creature,' 'Old.'
	Fear	*gagit* S.	..
	Feather	*pĕnurun bisan jongkar* M.	..
	Female	*kutul* S., *bisan* S.	F. 63, p. 600.
	Fetch	*salor* S.	..
	Fever	*kĕbok* M., *bintoh* S., *bintoh ho-ho* S.	..
	Few	*slek* S., *pantus* S.	*V.* Fine *infra.*
	Fight	*pĕdas* K., *bĕbinto* K.	..
	Fine	*slek* (*putek*) S.	F. 105, p. 602.
M.	Firefly	*bisan suloh* S.	'The torch creature.'
? M.	Fly	*chĕmeyip* S.	? From *sayap* 'Wing.'
J.	Follow	*jok* S., *l'roh, bĕtroh* S., K.	G. 43, 48, p. 619.

J.	Forest, hill, mountain, village	*sing* K., L., M., S., H. 90, p. 631. *sieng* E., *seng* S.	
	Foreskin	*chongkop ajul* S., *pělanchas ajul* S.	*V.* 'skin' *infra.*
? M.	Fowl	*jongkar* E., M.	..
	,, jungle	*jongkar sing* M.	*V.* Forest.
M.	Friend	*sakai* S.	'Follower,' 'servant.'
M.+J.	Fruit (*tam-poi*).	*pĕmanis sing* K	'Sweet of the forest.'
	Fulfil, matter, trust, reach.	*salor* K.	M. 71, p. 656.
	Full	*jĕngok* S., *moit* S.	..
	Gambir	*anse* K.	G. 5, p. 616.
	Gather, to	*pu'ther* K.	G. 11, p. 616.
	Ghost, oath	*s'kok* K., *kaum beh sĕkok* S.	G. 20, p. 617.
M.	Giddy	*bingong pĕningol* S.	..
	Go, to	*b'jok, bĕrjok* E., S., *bĕtroh* S., *bĕkaloi* K.	G. 41, 43, p. 619-20.
M.	Goat	*chewe mek* S., *ch. ĕmbek* E.	'The bleating creature.'
? M.	Gourd	*buah lulok.*	..
	Grandfather	*ibu mak kawat awal* S., *kon pĕnyengok* S.	*V.* 'Old; 'Many.'
	Grave	*chima orang pantus* S.	..
	Half, a	*sa—dokun* S.	S. 285, p. 716.
	Hammer	*pĕngapan* K.	H. 12, p. 626.
	Hand, to pinch.	*pĕnganak.*	H. 18, p. 626.
	Hang	*iniot* K., *rĕnyut* S.	H. 25, p. 628.
	Hatch	*kueh* S.	..
	Hate, angry, tired, evil, bad, ill, venomous, swollen, pain, bruise.	*bintoh* K., L., S.	..
	Hawk	*bisan chĕmeyip b-lĕheio* S.	Cf. 'Butterfly, Cockroach.'
	He	*aji mamung* S., *kaum yak mamung* S.	..
	Head	*pĕningol, pĕmubun.*	H. 52, p. 629.
? M.	Hear, to	*pĕnyepok* K.	H. 61, p. 630.
	Heart	*mambong mĕrsek* M., S. *m. mirisit* L.	Cf. 'Charcoal, Hole.'
	Heavy	*bĕchont* K., S., *bĕcho'-ot* S., *chĕn'out* K.	H. 68, p. 630.

J.	Here, come	*kian* K.	T. 90, p. 735.
	High	*awal* S.	Cf. 'Far.'
	Hill *v.* Forest	..	..
	Hit, meet, get, know.	*salor*, *bersalor*, *tĕr-salor* S	..
	Hold, to	*bĕpĕnganak* S.	Cf. 'Hand.'
? M.	Hole, belly, rotten	*mambong* K., S.	? = 'empty.' H. 116, p. 632.
	Hornbill	*kunmambong* M.	J.+M.
J.	House, nest, hut.	*chinia* S., *chindir* E.	H. 152, p. 635.
? M.	Humped, sloping of a tree about to fall.	*sĕnadan* S	? Cf. Mal. *sadak*.
	Hunt *v.* Follow, chase.	..	..
	Husband, male, penis	*ajul* E., K., M., S., *kotol* K., S.	M. 20, p. 652 and cf. Jav. *kontol*.
? M.	I	*'ku mamung* S, *koh mambong* E.	..
J.	Iron	*chenot* K., *chaot* L.	S. 466, p. 725, and I. 136, p. 639.
	Itch *v.* Hate, skin	*mintoh chungkop* M., *chekos* K.	I. 46, p. 640.
	Jakuns	*kaum sieng* K., E.	Ar.+J.
	Johore	*sieng-Jor* E.	..
J.	Keep	*pĕrhun* K.	K. 5, p. 641.
	Kelantan	*sieng-Alu* E.	..
	Kingfisher	*burong kawat* M.	..
J.	Knee	*sĕnto'nt* S.	K. 43, p. 643.
? Sem.	Knock to	*kues*.	K. 50, p. 643.
	Know, fetch,	*salor* S.	..
	Lame	*binto kĕmunyis* K.	S. 189, p. 710.
	,, humped	*chilos* S.	..
	Language	*pĕmeseng* K	S. 365, p. 720. Cf. *bising* Mal.
	Laugh	*mĕlahin* K.	L. 18, p. 645.
	,,	*gemer* S.	..
	Lazy	*ajul* K., *pĕngagit* S.	L. 31, p. 645.
	,,		
	Leaf	*mambong di-iran* M.	..
	Leak	*bĕrchĕnĕngak* S.	..
	,,	*nyak kueh* S.	..
	Lean	*di-pĕrajul* S.	..
J.	Learn	*bĕtroh* K.	G. 48, p, 620.
	Leave	*mĕlahor* S., *dĕpĕ'eh* S.	F. 21, p. 596. ..

	Lemur, flying	*pĕnyunam chĕmeyim* L. 54, p. 647. S., *bisan bĕrsayap* S., *sĕleter* M.	....
	Less	*beh jĕngok* S., *beh salor* S.	....
	Letter	*panchurek* K.	W. 149, p. 762.
	Level	*hapas* S.	L. 62, p. 647.
J.	Lid	*chongkop* S.	S. 234, p. 712.
	Lick	*dĕ-pleng* S.	T. 164, p. 740.
	Lie	*bantil* S., *mantir* E.	F. 59, p 600.
	Lime	*aseh* E.	....
	Little	*slek* S.	....
	Liver	*mĕrsek* S.	H. 65, p. 630.
J.	Lizard, monitor.	*bakin sing* M.	L. 119, p. 649 & H. 90, p. 631.
	Long	*awal* S.	Cf. 'far.'
	Loose	*beh rapat* S	J.+M.
	Lose	*mĕlahor pantus* S., *tĕlibutn* S.	....
	Loris	*pĕnyuna* S.	....
	Low	*beh pĕminying* S.	J.+M.
J.	Maiden	*kaum sĕdukun* M., *sĕlek baharu ningkat* S., *anak bisan* S.	C. 102, p. 558 & S. 285, p. 716.
	Maimed	*pantus.*	*V.* 'Dead.'
	Man	*kotoi* K., S.	Cf. Jav. *kontol* penis.
		ajul S.	F. 63, p. 600 & M. 20, p. 652.
J.	Many	*jengok* S.	M. 44, p. 654.
	Married	*b'bisan* K.	W. 132, p. 761.
	Matches	*flin* E.	? Eng. 'flint' (E.).
	Monkey (*bĕrok*)	*pĕnyuna kun* S., *p. bek pĕngipas.*	
	,, (*kĕra*)	*pĕnyuna slek* S., *p. kre'k* S.	
	,, (*lotong*)	*pĕnyuna jimong* S.	M. 175, p. 661.
J.	Mosquito	*lom* S.	....
	,, -net	*chongkob* E.	....
J.	Much, rich	*kun*, E., K., L., M.	M. 46, p. 655.
	Mud, swamp, marsh.	*letek* K., *lepek.*, *lepet* S.	S. 528, p. 729.
J.	Nail, of finger	*kuku changkup*, *chongkop* S.	S. 234, p. 712.
	Near	*beh awal* S.	'Not far'
	Neck	*pĕrsoa* M., *pĕngĕsop* S.	N. 26, 30, pp. 667-8.
	New	*beh awal* S.	....
	News	*sadar* K.	....

J.	Not, no	*beh* K., S.	....
	Not yet	*beh* S., *awal* S.	....
	Now, just	*tik* S.	..
? M.	Numb	*nyonyok isi* S.	....
	Oath *v.* Ghost		....
M.	Oil, hair	*sĕmpĕloh pĕningol.*	....
	Old	*kĕbok isi* S.	O. 15-18, p. 673.
	One	*sia* M.	O. 30, p. 174.
	Onion.	*pĕmauh* S.	P. 32, p. 674.
	Owl	*burong bĕrtam* M.	....
	Ox	*chewe boh* E.	....
	Paddle, swim, to	*chuer* K.	P. 5, p, 676.
	,, , up-stream, to.	,, *pĕningol*	*V.* 'Head.'
	Pahang	*sieng-pĕngĕpang* E.	....
	Pale	*bĕrslek* S.	....
	Palm, screw-	*daun pĕmuteh sing* M.	H. 90, p. 631.
	Pan (*kuali*)	*pakan* E.	
	Parroquet	*bisan pĕnetek* S.	
	Pardon	*kĕsungkok* K.	P. 33, p. 677.
	Pea-fowl	*bisan sĕmpĕloh kun* S. *b. bĕrjambul* S.	....
	People	*kaum* S.	Arabic Mal.
J.	Pig	*jokut.*	P. 80, p. 679.
	Pigeon, green	*chialai.*	P. 92-8, p. 680.
	Piss, to	*mĕlanchir* S., *mĕlahor sĕmpĕloh ajul* S., *mĕlau sĕmpĕloh* E.	....
	Place	*pĕrajul.*	
	Poor	*paieng* K.	P. 183, p. 684.
	Pot, earthen	*pakan* K.	P. 201, p. 685.
	,, , cooking	*kawat* E., K., S., *bing-kai* E.	C. 89, p. 557.
	Pudendum muliebre.	*chĕnĕgga ibu* E.	....
	Push	*dĕpeh* S.	P. 240, p. 686.
	Putrid, of smell.	*chaat* M., *poõs* S.	S. 292, p. 717.
	Quarrel	*mĕlaher kon* S.	....
	Quick	*chĕlikas* S., *jok* S.	Q. 5(b), p. 687.
	Quiver	*mĕlagat bĕtroh* S.	....
	Quiver cords	*mambong tali* M.	....
	Rain	*sĕmpĕloh mĕlau* E. *kumeh* L., *pĕjur* K., *pĕjul* S , *pĕjo* S.	R. 8, 10 p. 689.
M.	Rapid	*talar* K., *pĕngĕrip* K.	R. 30, p. 690, T. 173, p. 741.
	Rat, bamboo	*pĕngĕrip kon* S., *pĕn-chodok bagin* S.	M.+J.

	Raw	*beh mo'ot* S.	S. 337, p. 719.
	Receive	*'mbin kekok* K.	R. 50, p. 693.
	Reed (*sĕlinsing*)	*daun nĕkoh* S.	'The leaf that cuts.'
	Rhinoceros, tapir.	*chĕngkĕrat* L., M., *sĕgĕntil beh pĕngĕrip* K., E.	R. 92, p. 696. F. 121, p. 604.
	Ring	*pĕlisok* K., *pĕrsok* S.	R. 135, p. 698.
J.	Road	*jok* S. *j. bagin* K.	G. 43, p. 619.
M.	Rub	*kulut* K.	R 195, p. 701.
	Rust	*rojol* K.	R. 205, p. 701.
	Saliva	*sĕmpĕloh pleng* S., *ayer lior pĕnyileh* S.	....
J.	Sell	*pieh* L.	S. 95, p. 705.
	Shadow.	*tĕpe'ĕ isi* S.	..
? M.	Sharp	*nĕkoh* S., *mĕlagat 'nĕkoh* S. [*nying* S.	'(Quick) biting.'
	Short	*beh awal* S., *b. pĕmĕbĕrajul* S.	....
	Silent		L. 31, p. 645.
	Sing	*m'pior* K.	S. 212, p. 711
	Singapore	*Sieng-pĕngĕlat* E.	J.+M.
J.	Skin, bark, scales.	*chungkop* K., *chongkop* S.	S. 234, p. 712
	Slip	*palin* K.	S. 263, p. 714
	Slippery	*bĕsĕlet* K.	....
	Slow	*awal* S.	....
	Spider	*mambong kayu* M.	....
	Spit	*mĕlaoh sa-pĕlotin* M.	S. 391, p. 722
	Stand	*bĕrajul pĕnĕgak* M.	S. 31, p. 645.
	Star	*tongkat slek* S.	*V.* 'Little.'
	Steep	*sĕnadan* S., *sunai* S.	
	Stone	*cho'ot* S., *choh-ut* E.	S. 466, p. 725
	Stool, to	*mingkai* E.	
J.	Sugar-cane	*bos* S.	S. 514, p. 728.
	Tear, rend	*chĕleher* S., *dĕkuï* S.	B. 373, p. 544.
	Testicles	*buah ajul* S., *b. gantus* S.	*V.* 'Man.'
	Thorn	*nyinyar* E., S.	T. 94 (b), p. 736.
	Thumb	*ibu pĕnganak* M.	*V.* 'Hand.'
	Thunder	*pĕmintoh sĕrongkop* K.	'Anger of the coverer.'
	Tiger	*toman* K.	T. 133, p. 739.
T.	Tired	*kabo* L.	T. 147, p. 740.
	Together	*gĕme-gĕme* S.	..
J.	Tongue	*len, p'leng* K., S., *pĕnjĕler* S.	T. 164, p. 740.
	Touch	*salor pĕngolek* S *pĕngolek* S.	*V.* 'Arm.'

	Tortoise	*tomang* L.	T. 176, p. 742.
	Tree, butt of dart.	*tĕkoh* M.	T. 203, p. 742.
	Tree	*sĕrĕmpun* S.	....
	Trengganu	*Sieng-kalu* E.	....
	Trousers	*pirso* L.	....
	Turn	*bĕrpĕlipat* S., *bĕrs'-akar* S.	....
? M.	Tusk	*pĕngĕrip sĕgĕntil* L., M.	C. 51, p. 591.
M.	Two	*duia* M.	T. 274, p. 746.
	Unlucky	*johut* E.	B. 8, p. 521.
M.	Up	*awai* S., *a. pĕninggi* S.	....
? M.	Upstream	*mubun sĕmpĕloh* S., *pĕningol s.*.S.	....
	Vagina	*kutul* S., *chinera bisan* S.	W. 132, p. 761.
	Village	*pĕmengeh* K.,	*V.* 20, p. 749.
	Voice	*bĕrklueh* S.	C. 8, p. 552.
	Vomit	*mĕlawoh s'pĕloh len* M.	*V.* 'Spit.'
	Walk	*jok* S., *bĕtroh* S.	G. 43, 48, p. 620.
	Waist	*pĕrĕsop pĕnekan* S.	....
	Wait	*tĕrsalor* S., *di-pĕrajul* S.	....
	Wash	*koloit* S.	G. 143, p. 560.
? M.	Wax	*pĕnchondok dahan* M.	
	Weak, soft	*mo-ont* K.	S. 337, p. 719.
	Well, a	*pĕngirip* E., K., S.	T. 173, p. 741.
	Wet	*towar* K.	W. 76, p. 755.
	White	*pĕntul* K., *pĕntol* S., *pintul* L.	W. 101 (*b*), p. 758.
	Wish	*maik, mahut* S.	W. 15, p. 751.
	Woman	*kaum bisan* S., *sakai kutul* S., *bisan* E.	....
	Wood	*chue* L	T. 211, p. 744.
	Wound (split, torn S.)	*chĕlihir* E. *puih* S. *chĕnĕngkah* S.	B.373, p. 544.
	Yam	*juih* M.	T. 762, p. 762.
	Year	*tongkat bagin.*	*V.* 'Day.'

VII. HINDU SURVIVALS IN MALAY CUSTOM.

By R. O. Winstedt.

There are twelve purificatory rites which cleanse a Brahman from the taint of sin derived from his parents. (Monier Williams' "Hinduism," 1911, pp. 59, 60; and E. Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India," vol. I, *sub* Brahman.) They are not always punctiliously performed and often several are performed together. Between these rites and the twelve main incidents of a Malay boy's life there is such close coincidence, that it would appear we may detect in those incidents, as elsewhere, survivals of Brahmanism underlying the Malay's later faith. These survivals are corroborated by the many Sanskrit words employed in the Malay ceremonies:— *pancha-pĕrsada* 'a ceremonial bathing-place'; *pancharona* 'divers-coloured of thread', and so on.

The twelve rites are as follows:—

(1) The ritual of consummation spoken, unless the bride is a child, on the last, i.e. the fourth or fifth day of the marriage ceremonies. After the consummation of a Malay marriage bride and groom are ceremonially bathed (*mandi sampat* Pk.; *mandi tolak bala*) on or before the seventh day of the marriage ceremonies, which then conclude. Anyhow the consummation ritual would naturally be merged and lost in the marriage ceremonies.

(2) & (3) Two ceremonies performed together in the seventh or ninth month, the first to ensure the birth of a male child and the second the parting of the hair of the pregnant woman. These correspond with the Malay ceremony of *mĕlenggang pĕrut*.

(4) Touching the infant's tongue thrice at birth with honey and *ghi*, with recital of a verse from the Rig Veda wishing the child long life and happiness. Arab and Indian Moslems do this, omitting, of course, the verse from the Rig-Veda. Moreover on the Malay infant's forehead is painted the caste-mark of the Hindu (Skeat's "Malay Magic," p. 336).

(5) The whispering of a name into the child's ear by the parents on the tenth or twelfth day.

(6) Taking out the child in the fourth month to see the sun. With this may be compared the Malay custom of *turun ka-tanah* which is everywhere observed (*cf.* Snouck Hurgronje's "The Achehnese," vol. I, p. 389). In Kelantan a raja's child has to be taken down from the house by three steps, no more, no fewer. The child is carried through a line of women holding lighted candles to a spot where seven gold plates are placed. The first plate contains magic herbs; the second unhusked rice (*padi*); the third husked rice (*bĕras*), the

fourth rice-paste (*tĕpong tawar*), the fifth yellow turmeric rice (*nasi kunyit*), the sixth earth from a grave and the seventh sand from the sea. Into each of these plates the child's feet are pressed, before he is allowed to tread the earth (*pijak tanah*). Then he is carried up a seven-tiered stand and bathed. After the lustration, the stand is thrown, with the spirits attaching to it, into the sea. Wilkinson has described a Perak custom on introducing an infant to the water for the first time ("Incidents of Malay Life," pp. 4, 5). On return from that ceremony the midwife puts the infant's feet into trays containing cakes and 50 cents in each tray; that constitutes the Perak ceremony of *pijak tanah*, after which the child is put into a swinging cot for the first time.

(7) Feeding the child with rice about the sixth month. I know of no corresponding Malay ceremony.

(8) Tonsure of the hair except one lock in the third year :—a practice observed by Malays. On this occasion the Brahman clips the hair with seven strokes of the scissors: the Malay cuts seven locks (Skeat, "Malay Magic," pp. 353-4).

(9) Investiture with the sacred cord, when the boy is delivered to his *guru* or religious instructor with elaborate ritual. The Malay also hands his son over to the Koran teacher with considerable ceremony (Wilkinson, pp. 12-13).

(10) Cutting off the hair at puberty. This is done by Malays with great ceremony before circumcision (*ib.* pp. 17-18). In Perak during the hair-cutting, a mimic battle with bundles of rice is waged. Sometimes before circumcision the boys are dressed like brides, seated on a bridal dais and have the henna dance performed before them. In Kelantan a torch-light procession goes seven times round the house of the chief where the circumcision is to be performed; walls are removed and the procession perambulates the house without descending to the ground. Circumambulation is practised in all Brahmanical ritual.

(11) Solemn return home on completion of religious studies. This also is always observed by Malays (*ib.*, p. 17), often with details that are not Moslem. Indian Moslems also hold a festival on these occasions.

(12) Marriage which is full of Brahmanical ritual.

In some parts of India, the boring of the ears also is part of the Brahmanical ritual. When a Malay girl has her ears bored, the thread used is of divers colours (*pancha warna*), having at the ends turmeric cut in the shape of a flower of mace: two of these flowerets adorn the thread left in each ear.

It is true that Islam came to Malaya from India, but long before the coming of Islam India had left an ineffaceable influence on Malay life and thought.

I am indebted to Mr. T. S. Adams for accounts of the Kelantan customs here described.

With this paper should be read my articles on "Perak Birth Customs" and "Upper Perak Marriage Ceremonies" in this Journal.

VIII. PERAK BIRTH CUSTOMS.

By R. O. WINSTEDT.

As soon as a Malay woman is with child, she and her husband are compelled to observe certain (1) rules (*pantang*) to elude vampires injurious to the mother, (2) rules to avoid any harmful influence (*kĕnan*) on the child unborn, (3) rules to expedite and make safe delivery. When the woman goes abroad, she must carry a *parang*, or iron of some sort as a talisman against evil spirits. If the husband stir out of his compound after dark, he may not return direct but must visit some other house first to put any chance vampire following him off the scent. In the event of an eclipse, the woman must hide under the shelf in the kitchen, a wooden spoon in her hand and the basket stand, in which the cooking pot generally rests, upon her head—these as weapons and snares against evil spirits (*cf.* Clifford, "Studies in Brown Humanity," pp. 48-50). In Malacca and Singapore, she will bathe under the house-ladder at this crisis, so that she may not give birth to a parti-coloured child, half white, half black. At all times, the husband of a pregnant woman must be circumspect in taking life: if he wantonly fracture the leg of a fowl, his child runs the risk of being born with a deformed limb—though this taboo being very inconvenient, modern husbands at any rate get over it by the fiction that, if the deed is done with deliberation and forethought, there is no startling of the child in the womb and so no fear of harm. No one may enter at the front door and pass out at the back or the contrary; there is only one exit from the womb, the "house of birth." Guests may not remain only one night in the house. Neither husband nor wife may sit on the top of the house-ladder: such blocking of a passage entails protracted delivery. "In selecting timber for the uprights of a Malay house, care must be taken to reject any log which is indented by the pressure of a parasitic creeper that may have wound round it when it was a living tree; a log so marked, used in building a house, will exercise unfavourable influence in childbirth, protracting delivery" (Sir William Maxwell, J.R.A.S., S.B. XI, p 19). After the engagement (*pĕngkĕras*, *mĕnĕmpah*, *bĕrkirim pĕrut*) of the midwife in the seventh month, the husband may not have his hair cut till the birth has taken place for fear the after-birth break; and every Friday the wife must bathe with limes and drink the water which drops off the end of her hair.

For in the seventh month of pregnancy, there is sent to

the midwife (*bidan*) the present which Malay custom ordains on every occasion of formal courtesy,—

"Betel-tray and betel caskets,
Made by craftsmen of Macassar,
Wrapped in gay and fringed linen.
Sireh-leaf on golden stalk,
Betel-nut that's cleft in four,
Finest lime and scented water,
Tobacco clinging to the stem:—
These the contents of the caskets."

Money also may be sent, but is not compulsory, and any other gifts, according to the sender's fancy, suitable for the festivities or useful in the midwife's profession, the spices proper for the occasion, saffron rice, a chicken, a gourd, a *damar* torch. In Upper Perak the midwife is presented with a cocoanut, a mat, three bags (*kampit*) of rice, and a torch (*damar sa-bĕlumbong*); and the medicine-man (*pawang* or *bomoh*) with a *chupak* of rice, 25 cents (*wang sa-suku*) or in the case of the rich $ 5 (*lima kĕnĕri mas*). If the midwife is not engaged beforehand, she is termed *bidan tarek* and may charge double fees.

In Upper Perak a curious ceremony precedes the usual lustration in the seventh month of a first pregnancy. A palm-blossom (*mayang pinang mungkus*) is wrapped up to represent a baby, with a brooch (*agok*) on the bosom. This doll is put on a tray and hung adorned with flowers in a cradle, made of 3, 5 or 7 layers of cloth according to the rank of the parents. The Bidan and Pawang sprinkle rice-paste on doll and cradle; and the Bidan rocks the cradle, crooning Malay quatrains. The doll is then handed by the Bidan to the future father, his wife and all the relatives in turn to nurse. Finally the doll is put back into the cradle and left there till the next day, when it is broken up and thrown into water.

A ceremonial bathing (*mĕlenggang pĕrut* or *mandi sulong*) takes place everywhere when a woman has gone seven months with her first child, and is the occasion of house decoration and feasting and of a religious chant (*maulud*) in praise of the Prophets:—these all the ordinary accompaniments of circumcisions, marriages and funerals. During the *maulud* husband and wife are put in the middle of the company for the duration of three chants. The next morning, husband and wife will be dressed in their best and taken in procession down to the river. Incense is burnt and two rites observed which are imperative on every momentous occasion of Malay life, at birth, at the shaving of the child's head, at circumcision, in sickness, on return from a long journey, at a chief's installation, at a warrior's preparation for battle: three kinds of rice (*lĕrteh, bĕras kunyit, bĕras basah*) and neutralizing rice-paste (*tĕpong tawar*) are sprinkled on water ready for use. To sprinkle rice-paste is supposed to neutralize or sterilize all

evil and envious influences that may molest a person on any great occasion. The couple are bathed (*mandi bangkar* Perak), a white cloth spread over their heads, cocoanut palms waved seven times above them, and they are drenched with water charmed to avert evil and procure well-being, as at the lustration practised after marriage. The cloth is removed and appropriated by the midwife as her perquisite. A thread (*bĕnang pĕlulut di-pasang pada kĕdua-nya lalu di-alin*) is passed round the pair and a mirror lit by candles waved before their faces, at which they must stare with direct glances to avoid any chance of their child being squint-eyed! Then the procession returns to the house, where the couple sit together (*bĕrsanding*) as at a marriage Shawls are spread on the floor; if the patient is a raja, seven shawls must be spread: the pregnant woman lies on her back, so that the shawls are under her waist: the midwife seizes the ends of the first shawl and rocks her patient slowly as in a hammock, removes it, seizes the ends of the next shawl and repeats the performance seven times!

The birth itself is an occasion not for seclusion but for the assemblage of all relatives, and neighbours. The Pawang's first care is to select a spot where the earth is willing to endure defilement; and this is done by dropping an axe-head or a chopper to the ground, till it chance to stick upright: the patient is laid on the floor above that spot: thorn-bushes (*duri mĕngkuang, duri bulang, tĕrong asam*), rays' tails, bees' nests, a fishing-net, dummy figures (*gambar orang sa-kĕlamin*) are placed to scare away vampires. Sometimes the midwife will dress as a man in trousers and headkerchief, like the female *pawang* in the *bĕrhantu* ceremony described by Swettenham ("Malay Sketches," XIV). A rattan, round which cloth has been twisted, is slung for the patient to cling to in her throes. If delivery is difficult, recourse is had to the old magic, to bizarre charms, to ejaculations of orthodox belief. A medicine-man will be called to lift the end of the woman's hair and blow down it: the husband will be summoned to step to and fro across his wife's body and blow on her forehead or kiss her, "to condone by this symbolical trampling under foot any sins she may have committed against him." The medicine-man will enquire in what limb she feels weakest and hand the midwife a written charm to tie to that limb with a white incense-fumigated bandage. If the after-birth will not follow, a portion of the umbilical-cord is cut from the infant and tied to the patient's thigh—as a kind of sympathetic bait.

After the child's birth, some religious elder is called to open (*bĕlah*) the child's mouth, which he does by giving the child a ring smeared with *sireh* and cocoanut extract (*santan*) to suck. The mother is put to roast (*bĕrdiang*). A *gantang* of rice is poured into a tray, covered with clothes and the

infant laid on it. When the navel falls off a poultice is put on, mixed with pepper to make the child brave. A little feast of sweetmeats is prepared for children. The infant is removed from the tray. The rice whereon the infant lay is measured and omens taken as to the child's future. If the measure is brimming, the child will be rich; if it is short, poor. The balance of the rice is given to the chickens to avert evil (*tolak bala*) After 40 days, the 'roasting' of the mother ceases. The midwife is paid in Upper Perak $ 2 or, if the infant has been troubled by ghouls (*pelak puaka*), $ 2½ and allowed to remove her earlier presents: in the case of any later child, the midwife's fee in Upper Perak is $ 1. These fees, of course, vary in different places and with different times.

In Upper Perak names suggested by some local circumstance are given at birth, and girls, for example, are named after a butterfly, fish and plants. Later the parents will consult a *Lĕbai* to take the child's horoscope and select a Muhammadan name for the child according to the date of its birth. The Muhammadan name selected may be used temporarily or permanently. The first pagan name may still be used but will be changed for another in the case of illness or misfortune. In Patani there are many pagan names, Beh, Sĕluang, Udang, Panji, Sari and so on. In Kelantan five or seven bananas are dubbed with persons' names: they are laid before the infant and he is given the name allotted to the particular banana that he first grabs.

Though it is not connected with birth ceremonies, one may note that in Perak and Selangor, if a boy exactly resembles his father, it is usual to pierce (*tindek*) one of his ears: otherwise father or son is likely to die. The resemblance of a girl to her father or of boy or girl to the mother is of no import.

There is a rite *sutwasa* observed by Indian Moslems, when a woman arrives at the end of the seventh month of pregnancy, though it is simpler and differs from the elaborate Malay ceremonial; and Indian (and Arab) Moslems also get an elder to open an infant's mouth with honey, that he may learn wisdom and understanding (Herklots' "Qanoon-e-Islam"). But both these ceremonies are found in Brahminism. (Monier Williams' "Hinduism" (1911), pp. 59, 60.)

An account of "Birth Ceremonies in Perak" by Sir William Maxwell appears in J.R.A.S., S.B., "Notes and Queries," No. 3; and in Patani by Messrs. Annandale and Robinson, "Fasciculi Malayenses," Anthropology, Part II.

IX. UPPER PERAK MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

By R. O. WINSTEDT.

Betrothal is arranged as elsewhere (Wilkinson's "Incidents of Malay Life," pp. 19-20; Skeat's "Malay Magic," pp. 364-368). The relatives of the suitor bring *sireh* in five layers on a tray adorned with a paper tree: on another tray are yellow rice, a comb, a cup of oil, a silk *sarong* and a ring. On arrival at the house yellow rice is strewn. After the betrothal is concluded the suitor's mother anoints and combs the girl's hair and gives her a present. The *mahar* or *isi kahwin* is $ 10 or $ 12 (*rial*) and the marriage is postponed, as is usual, for a rice-year (*tahun padi*) and takes place after the harvest (*lĕpas mĕnuai*). During the period of betrothal the suitor's relatives (*waris*) support the engaged girl. The cost of the wedding (*bĕlanja hangus*) is shared by both families. A favourite time for commencing the festivities, which take place in the home of the bride, is Sunday evening (*malam Isnain*). Parched (*bĕteh*) and yellow rice (*bĕras kunyit*), neutralizing rice-paste (*tĕpong tawar*), a censer, a thread of divers colours (*bĕnang pancha warna*) as long as twice the length of a man from neck to heel and a tray are got ready. On the tray is placed a ring encircled by the aforesaid thread. A *pawang* ties a white thread with a ring on the groom's neck; lights a candle on a cup or tray; burns incense invoking all the local spirits (*kĕramat; charai* Pat.=*jĕmbalang*) to be kind: scatters yellow rice and sprinkles the groom with neutralizing rice-paste and dresses his hair (*bĕrkundai atau mĕmotong rambut bĕrandam*). A matron does the same service for the bride. A red and a white flag (*panji*) are stuck on either side of the house-door. The parched rice, rice-paste and censer are carried to the top of the house-ladder and the *pawang* goes down and offers betel and parched rice and rice-paste to the malignant spirits who haunt the locality (*hantu puaka*). The bride is bathed in the house. The groom is taken down to the river. Three bamboo cressets (*sangkak*) are erected and on them tied three candles, three quids of betel, three cigarettes. Two large candles are stuck on the ground. A white flag with a candle fixed on its shaft is implanted hard by. The centre-piece is a palm-blossom (*mayang mungkus*) fixed erect on a vertical frame of five lathes. Two quids of betel (*sireh*) are tied by a string and placed one each side of the vertical palm-blossom, the centre of the string being hitched one third of its height up the palm-blossom. Rice-paste is sprinkled. Incense is burnt. The *pawang* sprinkles rice and rice-paste on the water where the groom will bathe, begging

pardon from all the spirits of earth and water (*shaitan*, *jĕmbalang*, *puaka*). The candles are lit; and incense is burnt in the cressets. The palm-blossom is broken open that its moisture may be used for the bathing; limes and *bĕdak* are mixed with the water. Then the bridegroom is bathed with limes (*bĕrgurin* Pat.=*bĕrlimau*), facing downstream and having water thrown into his mouth. The white thread is removed from his neck and he is dressed in wedding garments—including a tasselled belt (*gĕndit puncha bĕrumbai*), a headkerchief with an aigrette (*tajok ma'ai*) and a creese with a bundle of *sireh* hitched to it. Commoners wear a belt of cloth across the shoulders termed *sayap sandang*. Rajas and chiefs will wear bracelets and armlets (*gĕlang tipis mas mĕnchĕkak lĕngan baju*), on each side of the neck crescent-shaped ornaments (like the *dokoh*), on the breast and on the back plaques shaped like the *bunga kundor*. Then the procession on elephants with painted foreheads and horses, if available, returns with religious chanting and singing to the bride's house, where men are perhaps fencing in the courtyard. The procession is headed by men carrying flags, women bearing water vessels, *sireh* utensils and candles. On reaching the bride's house the groom steps down into a tray filled with water wherein have been placed a stone, a ring, a shaving knife, and a dollar. He is sprinkled with yellow rice and seated on a dais. Gay raiment is doffed. At night a procession (*bĕrarak di-tabir*) goes thrice round a henna tree, singing and firing gunpowder. The next day bathing is again practised and a procession forms again from the river. This revelry may be continued 4 or 5 days at the wedding of a chief, or 2 or 3 in the case of a peasant.

For the last day (*hari langsong*) a round dome-shaped building for incense (*balai pĕrasapan*) is made of bamboo or *kumbar*: its posts being encircled by mats to keep in the smoke of the incense. It is placed in the middle of the house. Round it in a circle at the distance of the space between four house-pillars people hold up a white cloth. Within the circle of that cloth the bridegroom is taken in procession thrice each way around the *balai pĕrasapan*, the people who are holding the cloth carrying it round in the direction the procession goes. Then the bridegroom is placed in the *balai* and smoked for a few minutes with incense. After that the bride is brought out and led inside the circle of white cloth to undergo the same ceremony.

The bride next goes to her room. The duenna (*tukang andam*) guards the door. The *pawang* demands entrance for the groom. The duenna demands payment, *chukai wang sakati lima*. The *pawang* presents a betel-box containing a ring and two or three dollars. The bridegroom is admitted and goes to the left of the bride. The *pawang* lifts the groom's left hand and places it on the bride's head. Next they feed one

another with *sireh*. Then 3, 5 or 7 old people paint the palms of the couple's hands with henna, and sprinkle rice and rice-paste over them. The couple lift hands in homage to these old ministrants. A *lĕbai* reads prayers. After that bride and groom are stripped of their finery and brought outside.

A rice-mortar, which has been turned upside down, is ready in charge of an old woman. She demands payment for the use of it and receives a lump of *pulut* rice. Bride and groom are led round it, thrice in each direction, and thereafter seated on a plank laid across the mortar. Bride and groom are each lifted thrice before they are declared duly seated. The *pawang* takes a bowl of water (*batil bĕrsaksi*), pours into it a little fresh cocoanut oil, and after throwing 5 grains of rice on to the oil, lights a candle and drops wax on to the oil and rice-grains. The pair are bathed in the water thus prepared together with water from *mayang pinang* and flowers of the cocoanut. Seven times two matrons wave cocoanut fronds above their heads. Bathing accomplished, divers-coloured string is dropped round and over the heads of the pair three times while they step forward: and then under their feet and upwards three times while they step back. After the third time the string is lowered as far as their chests and severed in two places over the right rib of the groom and the left of the bride. The pieces of string are measured: if the front piece is the longer, the wife will obey her husband; if the back piece is the longer, the husband will be ruled by his wife; if both pieces are equal, both will hold their own. That ceremony ended, bride and groom don their finery and sit in state. There is an exercise in Swedish drill, where the performer has to sink slowly down into a sqatting posture, then straighten his knees and stand erect, stretching his arms wide at the same time. Except that they have not to extend their arms and that they are held up by attendants, bride and groom have virtually to execute this exercise several times till they are seated simultaneously as custom requires. After that, the floral pyramid of rice before them is broken and the embarrassed couple have to feed one another with their fingers. A *lĕbai* reads prayers. At last curtains and mosquito-nets are lowered over them and the happy pair retire. On the following day ceremonial bathing (*mandi bĕrhias*) is again performed, and feasting is renewed.

On or about the seventh day of a formal wedding, after the *hari langsong*, there is another ceremonial bathing (*mandi sampat* Pk., *mandi tolak bala*), such as has been described by Skeat ("Malay Magic," p. 385, which may be a survival of the Brahmanical impregnation ceremony); but often nowadays wedding celebrations are abbreviated to suit the means and convenience of the parties.

At Lenggong in 1903 I saw a wedding containing most

of the details that occur in the Temengor wedding ceremony, described above. But ignorance of the significance of the details had affected the ritual. On the day after the *hari langsong* the bride and groom were made to crook little fingers and bathe together. Bowls, ewers, jars and pitchers stood filled with water: three or four young cocoanuts were sliced as they are sliced for drinking purposes. A black iron-pot was bound with plaited cocoanut fronds after the pattern called "centipedes' feet." The faces of the couple were smeared with cosmetics (*bědak*) and lime-water before the bathing began. The white cloth was piled with cocoanut fronds and the water poured down on the couple through the cloth. The milk of the cocoanuts was emptied after the water. Then the ministrants squirted water furiously over all present. The white cloth was dropped and wound round the couple. Two matrons waved cocoanut fronds seven times over their heads and then dropped the fronds for bride and groom to step to and fro across them thrice, before they were cast out of the house taking all ill-luck. A censer of incense was passed round the couple and a cord of parti-coloured threads passed round their necks. Of course, it is natural enough in a Muhammadan country that the familiarities involved in this lustration should be at the very end of the marriage ceremonies. But there is no doubt that the Temengor form has preserved the real order of ceremonies now devoid of significance.

The code of Manu lays down that the most important part of a Brahman's wedding are the *saptapadi* or the leading of the bride three times round the sacred fire—each time in seven steps—the offering of burnt oblations by the bridegroom, the binding together of the bride and groom by a cord passed round their necks and the tying together of their dresses.

Again "on the second or third day of Brahman marriage ceremonies, sacrifices are performed in the morning and evening and the *nalagu* ceremony. The couple are seated on two planks covered with mats and cloth, amidst a large number of women assembled within the *pandal*. In front of them, betel leaves, areca-nuts, fruits, flowers and turmeric paste are placed on a tray. The women sing songs they have learnt from childhood. Taking a little of the turmeric paste rendered red by the addition of lime (*chunam*), the bride makes marks by drawing lines on her feet. The ceremony closes with the waving of water coloured red with turmeric and lime and the distribution of betel-leaves and areca-nuts. The waving is done by two women who sing appropriate songs." (Thurston)

The survival of Brahmanical custom, whether inherited from Langkasuka or some old kingdom of the north or infected with Siamese Buddhist ceremonial, is clear. The procession of bride and groom thrice round a burning censer; the offering of incense; the parti-coloured cord round the bridal pair; the crooking of fingers together or instead the holding by both

of one handkerchief can all be traced back to the essential features of a Brahman's wedding. Only nowadays the meaning of the ceremonies are forgotten, so that no one sees the absurdity of relegating these ceremonies at convenience till after the *hari langsong*, the last day of the real wedding !

There is one other point of resemblance between all Malay and all Hindu weddings, the excessive affected modesty of the bride. "The height of becoming conduct on the part of a Hindu bride is an exhibition of overwhelming modesty. She neither speaks nor smiles from beginning to end of the ceremony. While her toilet is in progress, she frequently has to be propped up against a wall ; and even then, if not supported on either hand by assistant bridesmaids—who are usually drawn from the elder women of the family—she allows herself to collapse and roll over helplessly, to the great admiration of the feminine portion of the family circle." (F. E. Penny's "On the Coromandel Coast" (1908), p. 246.) The words might be written of any Malay bride.

X. PROPITIATING THE SPIRITS OF A DISTRICT (*mĕnjamu nĕgĕri*).

By R. O. Winstedt.

The account of this ceremony was taken down at Temengor in Upper Perak.

When the rice in the fields is beginning to swell to grain, the medicine-man (*pawang*) or village headman consults his dependants as to the desirability of propitiating the spirits of the district. If they agree, he collects subscriptions (*mĕripai*) and orders everyone to bring a bushel of rice (*bĕras sa-chupak*) and two cocoanuts (*kĕlapa sa-tali*) on the appointed day and at the place chosen. The choice of day and place rests with the medicine-man : generally he selects a Friday.

A pink buffalo is bought. It must not have a maimed tail or torn ear or any blemish whatsoever. Its horns must be in length the span of a man's closed fist (*sa-gĕnggam panjang*).

On the Friday morning the whole country-side assembles. Candles are lit. Incense is burnt, the medicine-man uttering an invocation, "Ho incense ! I know your origin. From the brain of our Prophet came your smoke, the breath of his spiritual life. Go tell the medicine-men of creeks and pools, Pawang Muhammad, Pawang Zainal and our ancestor whose tomb we revere, that I am giving a feast of the meat of a pink buffalo with horns the span of a man's closed fist in length." (*"Hai kĕmĕnyan ! Aku tahu asal-mu jadi ; pada ctak Muhammad asap-mu jadi, nyawa ruhani-nya ! Tolong mĕnyampaikan kapada To'Pawang Kuala, Pawang Kolam, Pawang Muhammad, Pawang Zainal dan To'Nek yang kĕramat aku hĕndak mĕnjamu kĕrbau puteh sa gĕnggam tandok."*)

Next he invokes the spirits of earth and water to preserve all from harm :— "Allah's peace be on ye, spirits and gnomes of earth and water ! Here I slaughter a pink buffalo, with horns in length the span of a closed fist to invite the country-side to festival. I trust in your aid to prevent all danger and harm." *"A's-salam alaikum, hai sĕgala datok, jin dan jĕmbalang yang mĕmĕgang tanah ayer di-sini ! Ada-lah aku mĕnyĕmbĕleh kĕrbau puteh, sa-gĕnggam tandok ini, hĕndak mĕnjamu nĕgĕri. Harap-lah aku, supaya ĕngkau pĕliharakan dari-pada sakalian mara dan bahaya sĕrta chachat chĕa-nya."*

Then the buffalo is slaughtered and its blood caught in a bamboo. The medicine-man removes and sets aside nose, eyes, ears, mouth, hooves, legs and shoulders, tongue, tail, heart and liver of the beast, after which the carcase is skinned. Seven kinds of food are prepared :— *gulai, rĕndang, kĕrabu,*

pachak, *sĕnggang* (*rĕbus*) *goring* dan *daging mĕntah*. Various sweetmeats are added :— *gewang ia-itu pulut di-tanak dan di-chanai bĕrkĕping-keping*, *di-jĕmor*, *sudah kĕring lalu di-goring*; *pĕrut ayam ia-itu tĕpong di-gelek bulat-bulat lalu di-ator sa-akan-akan jala-jala rupa-nya*, *tĕlah kĕring di-goring juga*; *buah mulong* (*undi-undi*) *putĕri mandi ia-itu tĕpong di-gelek bulat dan di-pichit tĕngah-nya sĕrta di-gaul dĕngan inti ia-itu kĕlapa di-champor dĕngan gula*; *kĕkĕras*; *dodol chuchor*; *nasi manis*; *nasi Jawi*; *pulut puteh*; *pulut kuning*; *bubor ranchong ia-itu tĕpong di-gelek panjang-panjang dan di-gunting di-masaki dĕngan santan dan gula*; *dadar ia-itu tĕpong tawar sahaja di-goring dĕngan minyak sa-akan-akan chuchor jua rupa-nya*. In addition there are prepared parched rice ; twice seven eggs, i e. seven cooked and seven raw ; 25 cigarettes, whose wrappers must be *daun palas* ; maize leaves ; banana leaves ; a *nipah* pen ; 25 quids of betel, and seven vessels of water. (*Bĕrteh*; *tĕlor ayam dua kali tujoh, ia-itu tujoh masak dan tujoh mĕntah*; *rokok tĕngah tiga-puloh batang daun pĕmbalut-nya di-haruskan bĕlaka dari-pada daun palas*; *daun jagong*; *daun pisang istimewa pula kalam puchok nipah*; *sireh tĕngah tiga-puloh kapor*; *ayer tujoh limas*.)

The Pawang superintends the construction of a seven-tiered four-sided altar (*gulang-gulang*) made of *kumbar* stems ; the lower step as high as the mouth of a person seated on the ground ; the topmost tier as high as the medicine-man can conveniently reach, and roofed with *kumbar* stems. The whole structure is 6 cubits square and the topmost tier 2 cubits. Steps go up to the bottom tier on every side. A space is cleared round the altar.

Offerings are set aside to be laid on the tiers of the altar. The remainder of the food is eaten by those present. If there is a surplus of food, it may not be taken away ; those who wish to eat, must resort to the spot on the following day.

The medicine-man spreads banana and other leaves on the tiers of the altar. Food and sweetmeats are spread on the five central tiers. On the topmost tier are put the blood of the slaughtered buffalo, the portions of the carcase set aside as related above, seven kinds of food, and seven vessels of water, seven raw eggs and seven cooked eggs. On the bottom tier are placed the 25 cigarettes and the 25 quids of betel. The medicine-man's fee (*pĕnkĕras*) of $ 5 is wrapped in a white cloth and set with a bag of rice and 15 cents (*pitis*) on the top of the steps where he is to sit for the ceremony.

The *pawang* bathes with limes and dons fine clothes. In the evening all the folk depart except the *pawang* and one or two trusted helpers. The *pawang* circumambulates the altar, burns incense and sits waving a white cloth and crying out an invocation :— " Allah's peace be upon you, Chang 'Teh Perak 'Teh ; assembly of ancients ! I give notice to all who rule the bays and reaches of this parish, that here I invite to a feast the medicine-men of ponds and estuaries, the medicine-man

Muhammad, the medicine-man Zainal. This feast I give to protect our homes and rice-fields by swamp and hill from all danger and tribulation, all sickness and suffering." "*A's-salam alaikum, hai Chang Teh, Perak Teh, sidang wang purba kala ! Aku hĕndak mĕmbĕri tahu yang mĕmĕgang tĕlok rantau di-sini: aku hĕndak mĕnjamu 'Tok Pawang Kuala dĕngan 'Tok Pawang kolam, Pawang Muhammad dan Pawang Zainal. Aku menjamu mĕmbĕri makan-mu ini; aku hĕndak mĕmbĕla kampong halaman dan bĕndang huma; minta jauhkan dari-pada sakalian mara bahaya dan sakit pĕning.*"

Thrice he cries *Ohui, Ohui, Ohui*; then retreats three steps, kneels and repeats the cry four times; after that he goes home.

For seven days no one in the parish (*mukim*) may cause leaf or branch to wither; no one may execrate anything; no one may throw anything into the parish or drag anything out of it; and no stranger may enter.

A series of similar ceremonies by which the whole of the Perak river valley was "cleansed" of evil (*pĕlas nĕgĕri*) is described by Sir William Maxwell in J.R.A.S., S.B., "Notes and Queries," No. 3. Mr. C. O. Blagden has written an account of a propitiatory service seen by him in Malacca (J.R.A.S., S.B. 1896; quoted in Skeat's "Malay Magic," pp. 230-235).

XI. INDO-CHINA AND MALAYA.

Indo-China and its Primitive People. By CAPTAIN HENRY BAUDESSON. London: Hutchison and Co. n.d.

The linguistic affinity between Malay and a group of languages of Indo-China guessed by Logan, corroborated by Blagden and defined by Schmidt has been now accepted. Professor Cabaton, Aymonier and other French scholars have given us a Cham dictionary, and studies of the Chams, their religion and history. Several writers have written on less known tribes of Indo-China. A useful bibliography is given in the work under review. Baudesson's book on the Moïs and Chams collects further evidence in the way of customs and folk-lore—and the only criticism I have to offer on a delightful book excellently translated is that instead of seeking more parallels in Malayan regions the author often goes far afield to France and Rome and Africa.

The Moï, who inhabit the uplands of Indo-China, are called Karens by the Burmans, Kha by the Laotians, Stieng or Puong by the Cambodians, and Moï or Man by the Annamites. They have the physical characteristics of Indonesians which are found purest in type in the Battaks, Dyaks and Alfurs.

Their folk-tales bear out the physiological resemblance. They tell of the existence of beings with monkey's tails and a razor-edged forearm; the Malay *tulang mawas*. They have the same legend as the Malays relating that the tides are due to the machinations of a gigantic crab. The Moï tale of the Tiger and the Tortoise is an exact parallel to the Malay tale of the Mouse-deer and the Tortoise. The Moï tale of the Rabbit, the Tiger and the Elephant (p. 217) is a replica of the Malay Mousedeer tale (Skeat's "Fables and Folk-tales from an Eastern Forest," pp 45-47): the tale is of Hindu origin and is found in the Sukasaptati.

Captain Baudesson compares the Moï love-songs with the Malay *pantun*.

The Moïs file the teeth of youths at puberty to points, and they pierce the ears of girls. Both sexes smear their teeth with a lacquer, a practice abandoned nowadays by the Peninsular Malay. Ladies dye their finger-nails with vermilion. Youths sleep in a special hut after puberty Betrothals are prefaced by formal offerings of betel. The 'avoidance' by a husband of his mother-in-law and by a wife of her father-in-law is imperative as also for Malays. The Moï and Cham woman, like her Malay sister, is 'roasted' after child-birth. A Moï child is not given a name for two years; but the naming is a matter of moment, decided by a medicine-man, who uses

rice to consult the omens. If the child falls ill, the name of the Moï and Cham child, like that of a Malay, is changed as unlucky. Moï children's hair is kept short except for a long wisp. Their games (p. 73) bear a close resemblance to Malay children's games. For the social system. The description of a Moï village as an 'anarchical republic with a nominal chief'; the formation of leagues of several villages with obligation on their members to intermarry; the communistic basis of their proprietary system with the exception of individual ownership of weapons, clothes and so on—all these find parallels among the Malay races, and remind one of the social system of Negeri Sembilan in the Peninsula. Debt-slavery is common.

Moïs use traps and snares of types similar to those used by Malays. The Moï hunter, like the Malay, uses sympathetic magic to secure his game: he will prick himself with his arrow or imitate the contortions of a dying animal (p. 100). He may not eat the flesh of hare or deer for fear of becoming timorous; at a boar hunt if he eats fat and oil, the animal will slip through his nets; when he hunts elephants, his women may not cut hair or nails or the elephants will break through the stakes of the palissade; and elephant-hunters must use a special language. It is a horrible catastrophe to meet with certain Ghouls, whose method of progression, like that of the Malay *hantu bungkus*, is a rolling motion like that of a barrel. The genii of iron-mines are propitiated with religious rites. Like her Malay sister, the Moï woman lets her hair hang loose when she is sowing rice and clothes herself lightly at harvest. Illicit love brings a bad harvest on the guilty parties. Taboos are of every kind, royal, sacerdotal, sexual and proprietary. The word 'Tiger' may not be uttered: a euphemism takes its place. Flint stones are venerated and trees (p. 129). Hair, nail-parings and so on are used by sorcerers to cast a spell on their owner. Leaves of plants of the genus *Zingiberaceae* are used in love-philters, to catch girls and wild beasts. A Moï follows the footsteps of his enemy and sticks a bamboo in his tracks to cause disease. The ritual of a Moï sorceress exorcising sickness (p. 154) corresponds closely with that of the Malay *bĕrhantu* ceremony. Divination by means of an egg is practised to discover a thief; and the ordeals of water and of boiling resin are in force.

Like the Dyaks, the Moïs highly prize old earthenware jars. They reckon time by cutting notches on the internode of a bamboo, a practice from which it is surmised the Malay word for 10 *sa puloh*=*sa buloh* is derived. Captain Baudesson notes a close kinship between their art and that of the aborigines of the Malay peninsula.

The second part of the book on the Chams is shorter, but fortunately we have a fairly large literature on this people of 130,000 souls. Formerly rulers of Champa, the Chams belong to the Malayo-Polynesian race. Islam is their religion,

though they have passed through stages of animism and Brahminism. Baudesson compares their matriarchal system with that of the Minangkabau Malays of Negeri Sembilan. Family is traced through the mother, and inheritance descends in the female line. The woman selects her husband, and the children remain her property in the case of divorce. Marriage is concluded by *confarreatio*, betel however taking the place of rice. There obtains also, as with Malays, marriage by capture or formal rape, where a girl's parents have been obdurate. At a puberty ceremony for girls, called *Karoh* (which Baudesson surmises to have been derived from Islam), the officiating priest places salt on their lips, offers a cup of water and cuts a piece of hair from the forehead of the chaste and from the nape of the wanton At a Perak Malay marriage, the chastity of a bride is inferred when the matron waxes seven long hairs of the bride and clips them: if the ends of the hair fall towards the bride or the stumps move, the girl is not a maiden; if the contrary happen, she is virgin. Like the Malays, the Chams have a saying that you may as well leave an elephant among sugar-canes as a man alone with a girl. Cham and Malay mothers smear their children's faces with a yellow cosmetic to appease malignant spirits.

The form of polite greeting is that observed by Malays. "If a man meets a friend of superior station, a due and proper sign of deference is to adjust his girdle or cross the cloth which fulfils the functions of trousers. If he is carrying an umbrella, he will hold it forward towards the person he thus wishes to honour. He will take the greatest care to avoid swinging his arms."

The rules and taboos of searchers for eaglewood very closely resemble those of the camphor gatherers of Johore. The searchers are bound to silence. Unavoidable speech is metaphorical, like that of the Johore collector: an axe is "the wood-pecker"; fire "the red." The women who remain behind may not quarrel, lest their husbands be molested by tigers or snakes.

The Chams have Padjao or prophetesses who become possessed: they are thought to perform functions which formerly devolved on royal priestesses. They are celibate, chosen after probation, the choice depending on omens drawn from the flame of candles. The novitiate ceremony after the year's probation must, like a Malay *bĕrhantu*, be attended by the identical persons who were present at the novice's original admission. She is assisted by a male "Mendoun." On the night of initiation she resorts to a ant-heap in the moonlit forest, severs a cock from head to tail, and dancing naked by incantations restores the fowl to life. Clifford has described a very similar Sakai ceremony.

The Chams, like the Malays, use spirit-boats to waft away evil from a village.

Captain Baudesson's book should be in the hands of all comparative students of things Malayan.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

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XII. A PAWANG'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR SELECTING DOVES AND TURTLE-DOVES.

By Abdu'l-Majid bin Haji Zainu'd-din.

Turtle-doves (*kětitir* or *měrbok*) are kept mainly for the sake of the good luck they are supposed to bring to their owners. *Pawangs* say if one of these birds sings a song resembling the sound of *tĕr-gĕdung-dung-dung*, his lucky owner will soon be in possession of a *gĕdong* (godown). When anyone comes into possession of one of these birds, he is advised by the *pawang* to consult the omens by putting it into a cage together with a *chupak* of husked rice (*bĕras*) which has been carefully measured and incensed over burning *kĕmĕnyan*, with prayers for the Prophet (*salawat*) repeated over it. The cage (with the bird and rice inside) should be hung out for the night. Next morning the rice must be re-measured; if it proves to have increased in quantity during the night, the bird is considered very lucky (*bĕrtuah*); but if it shows decrease, then the bird is unlucky!

The more usual way of selecting doves and turtle-doves is by counting the number of scales on their legs. The most this number is said to reach is forty-four and the least is thirty-three. Both these numbers are significant of good luck. Thirty-six and thirty-eight are considered unlucky numbers, but thirty-seven mark a bird that will be useful as a decoy. The other numbers are neither very lucky nor unlucky.

The dove (*tĕkukor*) suitable for training for fighting purposes or as a decoy should have:—

(*a*) its body like a pigeon's, i.e. roundish and strong in build;
(*b*) the feathers of its wings long: if possible the ends of the feathers should cross one another, as this is believed to enable it to strike its adversaries better and harder;
(*c*) its head roundish;
(*d*) its beak thick and short;
(*e*) the black line under its eyes (*chĕlak*) small;
(*f*) its eyes small, not projecting like those of a lizard;
(*g*) the small feathers all over its body short and round;
(*h*) one feather in its tail overlapping the others (*daun tindeh sa-hĕlai*);
(*i*) its neck not too long or too small;
(*j*) the feathers on its neck (*bulu rĕntak*) broad with small speckles;

(*k*) its legs and feet thick and reddish in colour ; and its claws short but broad ;
(*l*) a dividing line running down the middle of its breast ; or down the scales of its legs.

Below I append the Malay version of these instructions :—

Pĕtua Pawang.

Dari hal mĕmileh Mĕrbok Kĕtitiran dan Tĕkukor.

1. Ada pun pĕtua mĕmileh burong mĕrbok itu ia-itu di-bilang sisek pada kaki-nya ; dan ada-lah konon-nya sa-korang-korang bilangan sisek itu tiga-puloh tiga banyak-nya, dan sa-lĕbeh-lĕbeh-nya ĕmpat-puloh ĕmpat. Maka kĕdua-dua bilangan itu jarang tĕrjumpa ; oleh yang dĕmikian jadi-lah burong itu tĕrlalu bĕrtuah, ada-nya.

Ada pun bilangan sisek burong yang chĕlaka itu ia-itu tiga-puloh ĕnam dan tiga-puloh dĕlapan. Maka jika sisek-nya itu tiga-puloh tujoh, jadi-lah burong itu bĕrtuah pĕmikat, ada-nya.

Dan jika bilangan-nya itu pada lain-lain dari-pada yang tĕlah di-sĕbutkan itu, maka burong-nya tiada-lah bĕrapa bĕrtuah, dan tiada chĕlaka, ada-nya.

2. Ada pun pĕtua mĕngĕtahuï dari hal chĕlaka atau bĕrtuah burong kĕtitiran itu ia-itu apa-bila di-bĕli akan dia, hĕndak-lah di-sangkutkan di-dalam sangkar-nya bĕrsama-sama dĕngan sa-chupak bĕras yang tĕlah di-sukat baik-baik dan di-asap dĕngan kĕmĕnyan sĕrta di-bachakan sĕlawat atas Nabi. Kĕmudian pada esok hari-nya di-sukat sa-mula bĕras itu ; jika di-dapati bĕrlĕbeh bĕras itu, maka itu-lah alamat burong itu bĕrtuah ; tĕtapi jika korang bĕras itu, ia-lah tanda chĕlaka burong itu, ada-nya.

3. Ada pun pĕtua dari hal mĕmileh burong tĕkukor yang kuat bĕrlaga dan baik di-pĕrbuat dĕnak ia-itu :—

(*a*) badan-nya hĕndak-lah sa-akan-akan mĕrpati ia-itu bulat ;
(*b*) sayap-nya panjang ; jikalau dapat, biar-lah bĕrsilang hujong sayap-nya itu, supaya kuat pukul-nya ;
(*c*) kĕpala-nya bulat ;
(*d*) paroh-nya kasar lagi pendek ;
(*e*) chĕlak di-mata-nya itu halus ;
(*f*) mata-nya kĕchil ; jangan tĕrbenchut ka-luar ;
(*g*) bulu yang halus-halus pada mĕrata tuboh-nya itu hĕndak-lah bontak-bontak ;
(*h*) bulu ekor-nya hĕndak-lah tindeh daun sa-hĕlai nama-nya, ia-itu sakalian bulu ekor-nya itu di-tindeh oleh sa-hĕlai bulu sahaja ;
(*i*) leher-nya jangan gĕnting ;
(*j*) bulu rĕntak-nya itu hĕndak-lah lebar sĕrta halus-halus rintek-nya ;

(*k*) kaki-nya hĕndak-lah merah rupa-nya, lagi kasar dan jari-nya pun kasar, sĕrta kuku-nya itu hĕndak-lah pendek-pendek lagi lebar ;
(*l*) hĕndak-lah ada bĕralor di-bawah dada-nya atau pun pada sisek kaki-nya.
Dĕmikian-lah pĕtua-nya itu, ada-nya.

XIII. A MALAY BIRD STORY.

By Abdu'l-Majid bin Haji Zainu'd-din.

Long, long ago, all the birds in the world made arrangements among themselves as to what food each species should live upon and what time each should go out in search of food.

The *pikau* was to go out in the day-time and live on *padi*, and the sparrow to go out at night and live on worms and insects. After some time the *pikau* discovered that *padi* was obtainable only during certain seasons and at certain places; and being greedy and covetous interviewed the *pipit* and asked him to agree to a rearrangement. The *pikau* wanted really to live on the worms and insects which had been allotted to the *pipit* and were available at any time and anywhere. The sparrow, not suspecting anything, consented. After that, the sparrow went out in the day-time and the bustard-quail at night, the former living on *padi* and the latter on worms and insects. The greed of the bustard-quail, however, soon spread terror among the worms and insects. At last they determined to hide as much as possible in the night and to appear in the day-time instead. "It is true," they said, "the sparrows will then eat us, but they do that only for food and not like the bustard-quail in order to extinguish us from the face of the earth." Of course, this resolution of the worms and insects reduced the *pikau's* diet, whereas the *pipit* profited by it in that he could get subsistence both from the *padi* and from the worms and insects.

The *pikau* soon came to know of his plight; and to this day if you happen to be in *kampongs* during the *padi*-harvest, especially on moonlight nights, you can hear him crying in plaintive tones to the sparrow to give him back his *padi*:—
"*pe-et, pe-et, pe-et, ba' padi-ku.*"

XIV. ELECTION OF A TRIBAL CHIEF IN NEGRI SEMBILAN.

By R. O. Winstedt.

Native treatises on Minangkabau *adat*, which are often to be found in the hands of Negri Sembilan Malays, distinguish six occasions for the election of a tribal chief, though changed times and British protection have left only the first three extant in the peninsula, if indeed the others ever existed.

I.—Voluntary Resignation of a Chief.

This is known in Minangkabau as *hidup bĕrkĕredlaan* or as *hidup bĕrkhalifah*—in Negri Sembilan only the first of these phrases is in use. They are technical phrases for the resignation of a tribal chief from age or illness;—unless he resigns, a chief can be removed only by a *rapat* of the electors for misconduct or old age. He calls the elders of his tribe and its enfranchised members and tells them his case.

Lurah-lah dalam,
Bukit-lah tinggi;
Lurah tidak tĕrturuni,
Bukit tidak tĕrdaki.
Nan jauh tidak tĕrjalan,
Nan bĕrat tidak tĕrpikul,
Nan ringan tidak tĕrjinjing.

"The valleys have grown too deep for my going, the hills too steep for my climbing and journeys too far for my feet; burdens have become too heavy for my back and light tasks for my fingers." The exact meaning of *bĕrkĕredlaan* puzzles those unused to *adat* phrase. Officers, who have not grasped that high Quixotic principle of Minangkabau known as *kĕbulatan*, "unanimity," are tempted sometimes by interested parties to construe it, "if a tribal chief resigns, he can appoint whomsoever he likes as his successor." This is fundamentally wrong in custom. If a tribal chief is going away merely for a limited period, say to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, and desires to appoint a *wakil*, an attorney, to act during his absence, *ganti hidup bĕrkĕgĕlaran* as it is called, even then that nominee, who is commonly the elder of the tribal chief's own *pĕrut*, must still have the approval of the tribe and of the territorial chief. If a tribal chief resigns, then he is hardly more than a major-domo at the election of his successor. He proposes a candidate. The *buapa*, "elders," in tribal council *sa-rapat dĕngan bĕsar sĕrta waris* "in consultation with the minor headmen and enfranchised members of

the tribe," may indeed accept that candidate, may accept very rarely and for peculiar reasons a candidate from the same *pĕrut* as the outgoing chief, but they have the power to designate any other candidate who has better claims of family or intelligence:

Di-dalam bĕnar di-lalukan,
Di-luar bĕnar di-surutkan.

Should the outgoing chief refuse to accept their decision the election is referred in Minangkabau to the collective chiefs of tribes in the *nĕgĕri*.

'Kok sa-muafakat, kita lalukan ;
'Kok bĕlum sa-muafakat,
Kusut kita pĕrsĕlĕsaikan,
Kĕroh kita jĕrnehkan.

If they find there is after all unanimity, they pass the candidate ; if there is not, they adjust the tangled interests and clear up turbid counsels. Against their decision, there is no appeal. The procedure in Negri Sembilan is similar. Sometimes a *lĕmbaga* will claim that he and his colleagues in council alone can decide on a candidate. More often a territorial chief, *undang* or *pĕnghulu*, will claim that he alone can choose and reject. Both sides quote Minangkabau scripture to their own purpose but the true procedure lies mid-way. The decision in disputed elections rests with the *pĕnghulu* or *undang* in council. The territorial chief is the mouthpiece of his council, as witness the saying that deals with his power of dismissing a tribal chief:—

Sah batal ka-pada lĕmbaga
Hidup mati ka-pada undang.

"The finding rests with the council of tribal chiefs, but the sentence is pronounced by the territorial chief." If sometimes a chief usurps the power and omits to consult his council, that shows how the Minangkabau constitution failed to solve the problem of the strong and assertive man. Biassed arbitrary irregular decision on the part of a chief led to deadlock or war. Safeguards, it is true, have been invented with the process of time. The people of Muar have often appealed against the decision of their *pĕnghulu* to the *undang* Johol; and they have even appealed against the ruling of the *undang* to the Yamtuan. But such safeguards do not exist now in Rembau or Jelebu. The creation of the office of Yamtuan Muda in those two states show that the need was felt. Those high offices have been abolished and the British Government "crowned" instead. That government, having an administrative machinery of its own, can afford to leave the post of a tribal chief vacant for an indefinite time, till the electorate is *bulat*, "unanimous," can in fact punish the constitution with its own ridiculously

antiquated petard. If from the first there is no friction, if the out-going chief and the electorate are perfectly unanimous, *bulat nan sa-golek*, then the chosen candidate merely does homage to the territorial chief and *lĕmbagas*, paying $14 to the former and $7, in bygone days the price of a buffalo, to the latter. It is lamentable that many offices are bought, the prospective allowance from government even being mortgaged in advance, and the *adat* fees in no way representing the money that passes hands at an election. Minangkabau custom has made the path of the ambitious and unscrupulous hard but has not prevented them altogether. The resignation of the out-going chief, the consultation of the tribal elders, the reference to the *pĕnghulu* in council, are all occasions for junketting. The final homage and confirmation is the greatest day.

Taboh akan di-hĕntak,
Kayu akan di-kĕping,
Jĕmor akan di-tumbok.

"The drum will be beaten and firewood split into billets and the dried rice-grain pounded in the mortar." Publicity is the final sanction of an elected chief.

II.—The Death of a Tribal Chief.

In Negri Sembilan as in Minangkabau this is known as *patah tumboh, hilang bĕrganti*, "the broken grows afresh and the lost is replaced." It is also known as *patah tumboh di-tanah tĕrbalik*, "the broken grows afresh at the upturned clods" of the dead chief's grave, in allusion to the custom of choosing a successor at the obsequies of the deceased. In Minangkabau it is further called *mati nan bĕrtongkat budi*; a phrase which seems to mean that the *tongkat* or assistant of the deceased chief can ask to be given office after he has slaughtered a buffalo for the funeral.

The death and vacancy is announced to the tribe:—

Mati rimau tinggal di-hutan;
Mati gajah tinggal gading-nya;
Mati rimau tinggal bĕlang-nya;
Mati manusia tinggal pusaka-nya.

"Broken a tree sprouts again, and what is lost has to be replaced; so too the holder of hereditary office."

"The following are the traditional lines," wrote Newbold, "in which this custom has been handed down in Sungai Ujong:—

Umor-nya pendek, langkah-nya panjang;
Sudah sampai kĕhĕndak Allah,
Hĕndak bĕrkubor di-tanah merah;
Sa-hari hilang, sa-hari bĕrtanam;
Sa-hari bĕrtumboh, sa-hari pĕlihara."

"One day sees the burial of our lost chief and the springing up and cherishing of his successor."

Mati bĕrkĕrapatan: at the death of a tribal chief, the electors assemble, the elders, the lesser headmen, the full members of the tribe, both men and women. In the various districts of Minangkabau procedure differed slightly; in Sumanik the successor had to be chosen before the body was taken to the grave; in Pagar Ruyong at the graveside; in Padang Genting on the day of the death; elsewhere one hundred days after the death. If the selected candidate were absent from the *nĕgĕri*, his family gave some *tanda*, a creese for example, and the feast was postponed till his return. In Negri Sembilan, too, the election was supposed to be settled before the burial; but if no decision could be reached, then the elder of the dead chief's own *pĕrut* acted (*mĕmangku*) till the *mĕnujoh hari*, the funeral feast on the seventh day after the death, or even till the *dua kali tujoh hari*, the feast of the fourteenth day, by which time theoretically a candidate had to be elected. As a matter of fact, fights at the graveside and indecent delay of the burial often occurred. The procedure in the case of dispute was similar to that for election on the resignation of a tribal chief. And similar, too, is the procedure under the British protectorate: if there is dispute, the election can be postponed indefinitely. At last difficulties are surmounted; "the intricate is disentangled, the turbid cleared, the rain has ceased and the mist dispersed."

Kusut bĕrsĕlĕsai;
Kĕroh bĕrjĕrneh,
Hujan sudah tĕdoh;
Kabus sudah tĕrang.

The newly-elected chief invites his people to a public feast called *tabor mĕlukut*, the "sprinkling of the broken grain" for all the denizens of the courtyard, the "cocks that lay not eggs, the hens that cackle and the chicks that chirp." He sprinkles the grain as a symbol of gathering them under his wing and the bond of tribal unity is acknowledged in old-world sentences.

Hati gajah sama di-lapah
Hati kuman sama di-chichah.

"Together we skin the heart of the elephant; together dip the heart of the louse."

Chichir sama rugi,
Mĕndapat sama laba.

"What we drop is common loss; what we gain is common profit."

III.—Revival of Lapsed Office.

In Minangkabau this has several names: *mĕmbangkit nan tĕrbĕnam*, "raising the submerged," *mĕngĕmbang kain nan tĕrlipat*, "unfolding the folded cloth," *mĕmbangunkan andika nan tĕrlĕtak*, "raising a lapsed office," *mĕmakai baju nan tĕrlĕtak*, "donning discarded robes." If there is no eligible candidate for office or if the eligible candidate is too youthful or if the electors cannot agree, then election may be postponed:—*pusaka itu di-sangkut*, "the heritage is hung up." Later, choice is made as in the case of *hidup bĕrkĕredlaan*.

IV.—The Splitting up of a Chieftainship.

This is known in Minangkabau as *gadang mĕnyimpang*, as *sawah gadang di-bandar-bandar* as *baju sa-lai di-pakai bĕrdua*. If a tribe has spread and the area of its habitation grown wide, then all the "elders"[1] of the tribe are summoned and asked if the office of the tribe may be split up, one chief to care for the folk down-stream and another for those up-country. If they consent, *gadang mĕnyimpang bĕrkĕredlaan*, then all the chiefs of the *suku* are called, a feast is held and the new office created. If the title of the original officer is, say, Dato Jalak, that of the new will be a variation of it like Dato Jalak Muda. There are so many tribal officers in the Negri Sembilan Establishment List that this is likely to be an obsolete practice. Such a split may happen also owing to a disagreement in the tribe, when it is called *gadang mĕnyimpang karna sĕliseh*.

V.—Creation of a New Chieftainship.

This is called in Minangkabau *mĕmpĕrbuat pĕnghulu* or *mĕnaikkan kĕpala bandar*. If there arises a new settlement of free people from elsewhere, then a chief may be appointed with a title derived from that of his original family or tribe. He is given the *gĕlar muda* as in the last case.

VI.—Creation of a Chieftainship for a Freedman.

Pĕnghulu mĕnggunting sibar baju, "the chief whose portion is the edge clipped off his master's coat" was in Minangkabau the title of a freedman, who might be appointed by the elder (*mamak*) of the family which had emancipated him, in consultation with its blood representatives *kamanakan kandong* or *kamanakan di-bawah dagok*. His authority extended only over freedmen *kamanakan di-bawah lutut*, and he was not reckoned among *gĕdang nan bĕrbingkah tanah atau bĕsar nan bĕrlengkong aur*.[2] A saying runs:—

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[1] *Buapa* N.S.; *mamak, pĕnghulu nan tiap-tiap indok*, Min.

[2] A MS. account explains—*Ada pun gĕdang nan bĕrbingkah tanah boleh*

Sa-gĕdang hamba hingga mĕrdĕheka.
Sa-gĕdang mĕrdĕheka hingga pĕnghulu.

"A slave can become a freedman; a freedman can become a chief." In Tanah Datar this creation was unknown, nor have I met any trace of it in the Negri Sembilan.

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di-pĕlegarkan gĕlar pĕsaka itu nan sa-hidup dan bĕsar bĕrlingkong aur tiada-lah boleh di-pĕlegarkan gĕlar pĕsaka itu ka-pada nan lain, mĕlainkan turun-tĕmurun juga ka-pada kamanakan-nya dan ka-pada chuchu-nya. These descriptions are unknown in N. Sembilan.

XV. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN NEGRI SEMBILAN.

By R. O. Winstedt.

Relationship by Minangkabau custom is reckoned only on the distaff side, and in the Minangkabau colonies of the Negri Sembilan the same system obtains. A mother is *ĕmak*, *ibu* or *indok*[1]; her child, *anak*; a grand-child, *chuchu*[2]; a great-grand-child, *chichit*; a great-great-grand-child, *piut*; and the two generations below are termed *oneng-oneng* and *antah-antah*. All women in the family of a mother's generation have the *pangkat* or standing of mother to her child. A grandmother is *wan*[3] (or in the language of strangers, *dato*). All women in the family of a grandmother's generation have the *pangkat* of *wan* to her grand-child. A great-grandmother[4] is *ninek*; a great-great-grandmother,[5] *onyang* or *moyang*. All women of those respective generations have the *pangkat* of that generation to their descendants. Hence often confusion. At the hearing of a claim to land three or four women will declare they have the same mother or grand-mother or great-grandmother, when several of them mean really to say "aunt" or "grand-aunt" or "great-grand-aunt." Only after enquiry will they condescend to definite terms of relationship. There are such terms. A maternal aunt[6] is *ĕmak sanak ibu* or *indok sanak ibu*; a maternal grand-aunt, *wan sanak ibu*; great-grand-aunt, *ninek sanak ibu*. Conversely, a nephew or niece on the mother's side is *sanak ibu*; grand-nephew or grand-niece, *sanak dato*[7]; great-grand-nephew or niece, *sanak ninek*[8]; great-great-grand-nephew or niece, *sanak moyang*.[9] As the relationship becomes remote, generally it becomes vague in the absence of all records except oral tradition; and descendants describe themselves merely as *sa-ninek*, *sa-moyang*, *sanak jauh*[10] or *sa-waris*, that

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[1] *Indok* outside the N.S. is used only of the "dam" of animals; in N.S. it is used even of "the centre of a house," *indok rumah*. The Min. word is *mandeh* or *andeh*, in Agam *mandai* or *andai*, *amai*, *biai*, in Panian *ayai*, in Priaman *uai*.

[2] Min. distinguishes *chuchu kandong* lit. "grand-child of the womb" from *chuchu*, "grand-child" or "grand-nephew" (or niece). N.S. uses the latter for "grand-child" and *sanak dato* for "grand-nephew" (or niece).

[3] Min. *tuo* (=*tua*), *gaik*, *uchi*—the word *gaik* survives in N.S. in the phrase *tua gaik*=very old. Min. uses *tuo kandong*, *gaik kandong* to distinguish a "grandmother" from "grand-aunts," but N.S. has lost this useful distinction, and calls all *wan*.

[4] Min. *ninek*, *ninek moyang*, *andung*.

[5] *Ninek moyang*, *poyang*, Min.

[6] *Mandeh*, Min.

[7] *Badansanak tuo*, *b. gaik*, Min.

[8] *Badansanak ninek*.

[9] *Badansanak moyang*; the next generation is *badansanak poyang*.

[10] *Badansanak jauh*: all descended from the same ancestress are *saudara*, *sa-parinduan*.

is, as co-inheritors from the same female ancestress. The nearer relationships are very exact. The first-born in a Malay family is *Sulong*, *Ulong* or *Long*; the second, *Angah*[1]; the third, *Alang* or *'Lang*; the fourth, *Andak*; the fifth, *Uteh*; the sixth, *Hitam*; the seventh, *Achik*; and the youngest *Bongsu* in other countries of the peninsula, but in the Negri Sembilan as in Minangkabau *Anchu* as well. These names are given to girls as well as to boys. With *'pa* set before them in the case of men and *mak* in the case of women, they serve to describe the exact status of a child's uncles and aunts. *'Pa Ngah* signifies for a child his second eldest uncle; *Mak Anchu*, his youngest aunt. These nicknames, fixed as regards the first four and last two, but uncertain sometimes in order as regards the intermediate, are given alike to maternal and to paternal aunts and uncles. A paternal aunt younger than one's father and a maternal aunt younger than one's mother are both called *indok kĕchil*[2]; a maternal uncle younger than one's mother or a paternal uncle younger than one's father are alike *bapa kĕchil*.

Brothers and sisters are, as everywhere in the peninsula, *adek-bĕradek*, *saudara*; also, a description peculiar to N. Sembilan, *kadim*; it children of the same father and mother they are *saudara sa-indok sa-bapa or sa-kadim*; if uterine, *sanak* or *saudara sa-indok or sa-kadim*[3]; if of the same father only, *saudara sa-baka* or *sa-kadim*. An elder brother is *abang*, elder sister, *kakak*; eldest sister, *kakak tua*[4] or *'kak tua*; and younger brother or sister, *adek*. Cousinship is reckoned like other degrees through mothers, that is on the distaff side. A cousin is *sanak ibu*; a female cousin, if older than oneself, *kakak sanak ibu*; a cousin younger than oneself, *adek sanak ibu*.[5]

The term *sanak* corresponds to the Minangkabau term *dansanak dusanak* and describes a blood relation on the distaff side: children of a man by different wives or children of one's mother's brothers are not *sanak*, but *saudara*[6]; *saudara* being used of relationship on the paternal as well as on the maternal side.

Even when a woman's children marry, still they will reckon their parents-in-law only on the female side. *Minantu* means "son-in-law" or "daughter-in-law," both being equally recognized and valuable under the *adat*. But in Negri Sembilan *mintua* means "mother-in-law," and the phrase *bapa mintua*, "father-in-law," is a neologism, the position not being included in the matriarchal conception of the family. For

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1 If there are only three children the second is called *Angah* or *Achik*.
2 *Mandeh kete*, Min.
3 *Dansanak*, *saudara samendeh*, Min.
4 Her husband is called *tunadi*, Min.
5 *Badansenak mandeh*, *b ibu* or *biai*.
6 Sanskrit.

aunts and uncles-in-law one has not the brothers and sisters of one's bride's father, but those of her mother *mintua sanak ibu.*

Minangkabau custom recognizes no descent or relationship through males, but it has a term for the relationship of a father and a father's family to that of father's children. It calls them *orang babako* (Mal. *bĕrbaka*). This nomenclature survives in the phrase *saka baka* used to express the origin of a person on both sides; *saka* describing the maternal, and *baka* the paternal side.

In Negri Sembilan the terms of relationship employed by the endogamous Malays of the other peninsular states are used to express relationship on the paternal side. The children of a man's sister [1] in Negri Sembilan are his *anak buah*, a phrase descriptive of descendants in the male line elsewhere but under the matriarchal constitution applied to a sister's children, because they alone are of the brother's own tribe: the children of a man's brother, a tie of relationship that did not concern the old matriarchy, are his *anak saudara* his nephews and nieces in our sense of the word but nothing to him, seeing that they belong to their mother's tribe, a different tribe altogether. A maternal aunt is *ĕmak sanak ibu*,[2] a paternal *ĕmak saudara*. A maternal grand-aunt is *wan sanak ibu*; a maternal or paternal grandmother and paternal grand-aunts are simply *wan*. No distinction is drawn between uncles[3]; and both one's mother's brothers and one's father's brothers are *bapa saudara* or loosely *bapa*. Grandfathers[4] and grand-uncles, paternal and maternal, are all *to aki*. Cousins on the male side are (*saudara*) *diri bapa*, as distinguished from *anak sanak ibu* those on one's mother's side. *Kadim*, an Arabic word, is used to denote close relationship alike on the distaff and on the male side.

With his passion for family trees, the Minangkabau Malay never omits to allude to any relationship established by marriage. *Ipar* is used of brother or sister-in-law on either side, that is, equally of brothers and sisters of the wife and of brothers and sisters of the husband: *ipar kadim* means a wife's or husband's full brother or sister; *ipar duai*, a husband's or wife's cousins; *abang ipar* means a brother-in-law older than self; *kakak ipar*, a sister-in-law older than self; and *adek ipar*, a sister or brother-in-law younger than self.[5] The relationship between two men who have married sisters or two women who have married brothers[6] is known

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[1] *Kamanakan kandong*; other descendants in the female line are his *kamanakan*, or if remote his *anak buah*: he is their *mamak*.

[2] *Mandeh*.

[3] Maternal uncle=*mamak*, Min.

[4] Maternal grand-uncle=*mamak tuo kandong*, *mamak gaik*. remoter *mamak ninek kendong*, *mamak moyang*, *mamak poyang*.

[5] The sisters of a man's mother are his wife's *andan*; and his more distant female relations his *samandan* in Minangkabau.

[6] *Pambayan*, Min.

as *biras*: a man speaks of his *biras*, meaning the husband of his wife's sister, a woman of her *biras* meaning her husband's brother. The relationship established between parents whose children have intermarried is *besan*. If I and my wife are parents of one of the parties to a marriage and my friend and his wife to the other, we are *besan*: the father of the child who has married my child is my wife's *besan jantan* and the mother is my *besan bĕtina*, and conversely. The relationship which exists between a husband and wife, both of whom have had a child by a former marriage is *besan sa-bantal*, if those children intermarry.

In all the states of the peninsula the marriage of first cousins is regarded with disfavour and is practised by hardly any Malays except the rajas. In the Minangkabau colonies the marriage of the children of sisters is of course prohibited along with all forms of marriage within the tribe. But even the children of brothers, though outside this ban, do not intermarry in Negri Sembilan, the only reason alleged being, that on the decease of a father the uncle becomes his niece's *wali* and on the decease of father and uncle the male cousin becomes the *wali*—an objection not really supported by the *shara'*.

XVI. COPYRIGHT BY KILLING.

R. O. Winstedt.

In Malay folk-tales reference is often made to a practice of killing an artificer so that his work may remain unique (e.g. a boat-builder in the *Hikayat Anggun 'Che Tunggal*, Singapore, 1914, p. 32 and a tooth-filer in *Awang Sulong Merah Muda*, 2nd ed., Singapore, 1914, p. 59: in each of which cases the fate befell the craftsman in Macassar). Is this expensive securing of copyright by killing an Indonesian custom? It seems unlikely. The Himyarite poet, Dhu Jadan, mentions a famous castle, Ghumdan, whose architect, Sinnimar, was "on the completion of his task slain by his employer lest he should produce some yet more wonderful monument of his skill" (Browne's "A Literary History of Persia," vol. I, p. 176). Was the tradition, like so much Malay tradition, of imported origin?

XVII. RICE CEREMONIES IN UPPER PERAK.

By R. O. WINSTEDT.

The following particulars were communicated ten years ago by a Pawang of Kampong Temengor.

Sowing the Rice-Seed in the Nursery.

The seed is washed and cleansed with limes the evening before and kept in the house for the night. Three lumps of yellow sweet rice, neutralising rice-paste and parched yellow rice and incense are prepared.

On the afternoon of the next day when the sun is half way down, at *waktu asar rĕndah* (4-30 P.M.), all the appurtenances are carried to the nursery; the Pawang burns incense and, dibble (*tukal*) in hand, cries as follows:—*A's-salam alaikum! Hai Nabi Allah Sulaiman raja sakalian bumi! Aku mĕmbĕri tahu ka-pada ĕngkau. Aku hĕndak mĕnurunkan padi akan bĕnch bagi aku. Harap-lah aku minta pĕliharakan dari-pada sakalian mara dan bahaya-nya.*

"Greetings be to thee, God's prophet Solomon, king of all the earth! I would sow seed rice. I pray thee cherish it from all danger and hazard."

Thereafter he dibbles seven holes:—

* * *
*

These seven holes are fenced in a separate square fence. All other holes are dibbled outside the fence.

The Pawang takes a handful of seed-rice, and going to the first hole cries:—

A's-salam alaikum!
Hai Nabi Allah Sulaiman, raja sakalian bumi!
A's-salam alaikum,
Hai jin tanah! jĕmbalang bumi!
A's-salam alaikum,
Hai bapa-ku langit!
A's-salam alaikum
Hai ibu-ku bumi!
A's-salam alaikum
Hai bapa kawal! ibu kawal!
Aku 'nak kirim anak-ku, anak Maharaja Chahaya, pada ibu-nya;
Aku suroh bĕrlayar ka-laut hitam, ka-laut hijau, ka-laut biru dan ka-laut ungu!

Aku kirimkan ĕnam bulan;
Kĕtujoh ka-sambut naik.
Bukan aku mĕnurunkan beneh;
Aku mĕnurunkan padi.

"Greetings be unto thee, God's prophet, Solomon, king of all the earth! Greetings to ye, genies and gnomes of the soil! Greetings to our father the Sky, and our mother the Earth. Greetings to the guardian father, the guardian mother! I would send my child Princess Splendid to her mother. I would bid her sail to the sea that is black, the sea that is green, the sea that is blue, the sea that is purple. For six months I send her and in the seventh I will welcome her back. It is not seed I plant: it is rice-grain."

The Pawang puts seed into the seven holes, holding his breath: when he releases his breath, it must be done gently and he must face in another direction. After that the rest of the folk plant out their seed over their nurseries.

Transplanting.

When the rice in the nursery is 44 days old, on a Saturday evening (the Moslem first day of the week) the Pawang or some skilled person starts the work of transplanting into the field. No invocations are used. Seven bunches are planted first along with a banana plant (*pisang mas*) and three *bĕmban* stems. Round this spot a square fence is erected.

Harvesting.

The necessary appurtenances are got ready:—many coloured thread black, white, yellow and red (*bĕnang pancha warna*) sprays of *Sygodium scandens* (*daun ribu-ribu*), sugar-cane, *bunga pĕpanggil*, neutralising rice-paste fried in the form of three omelettes. Then on a Saturday or Friday evening, the Pawang walks into the middle of the rice-field, chooses seven of the finest plants, and binds them with the many-coloured thread, the sprays, the sugar-cane and the flowers. Then he proceeds round the selected plants three times, crying:—

A's-salam alaikum,
Hai jĕmbalang akhir! jĕmbalang awal! jĕmbalang sa-ratus sĕmbilan-puloh!
Ĕngkau undor simpang sa-bĕlah! [*ĕngkau.*
Kalau ĕngkau ta' mĕnyimpang sa-bĕlah, aku sumpah

"Greetings be to ye, gnomes of latter days, gnomes of the beginning, gnomes one hundred and ninety! Get ye back and aside! If ye turn not aside, I will curse ye."

Then follows a charm against molestation by genies and fairies:—

Hai Nang Tehong nama ibu!
Tehong-Teheng nama bapa-mu!
Nang Manyu nama anak-mu!
Si-chantek molek anak pĕri tujoh bĕradek!
Jangan ĕngkau usek balek padi bĕras aku!
Aku sumpah ĕngkau!
Ĕngkau undor simpang sa-bĕlah!

"Nang Tehong is the name of your dam; Tehong-Teheng is the name of your sire; Nang Manyu, the name of your child. Pretty little fairies, seven brothers and sisters! Molest not my rice in ear, my rice in bin, or I will curse ye. Get ye back and aside."

Then the gnomes are cursed severally and particularly:—

Hai jĕmbalang akhir! Jĕmbalang awal!
Jĕmbalang sa-ratus sĕmbilan-puloh!
Jĕmbalang kaki! Jĕmbalang aku!
Jĕmbalang bakul! Jĕmbalang batang!
Jĕmbalang bukit! Jĕmbalang gunong!
Jĕmbalang padang! Jĕmbalang aku!
Ĕngkau undor simpang sa-bĕlah!
Kalau ĕngkau ta' undor, ku-sumpah ĕngkau!

"Ho gnomes of latter days! Gnomes of the beginning! Gnomes one hundred and ninety! Gnomes under my feet and subjection! Gnomes that creep into our baskets and round the plant-stems! Gnomes of hill and mountain! Gnomes of plain! Gnomes subject to me! Get ye back and aside or I will curse ye."

All these invocations are recited while the Pawang walks round the seven selected plants, awaiting evening (*sĕnja kala*). When evening falls, he takes basket and reaping-knife, puts the three omelettes of rice-paste at the bottom of the basket and draws near to the rice-plant, saying:—

1. *Hai sĕmangat, anak-ku, Maharaja Chahaya!*
Aku kirim pada ibu awal ĕnam bulan, kĕtujoh ku-sambut naik:
Sampai pĕrjanjian ku-sambut naik.
Ku-suroh bĕrlayar ka-laut hitam, ka-laut hijau, ka-laut biru, ka-laut ungu;
5. *Ka-bĕnua Rum, ka-bĕnua Kĕling, ka-bĕnua China dan ka-bĕnua Siam.*
Aku 'nak sambut ka-atas anjong istana,
Ka-atas tilam pĕrhiasan pĕrmadani.
Aku suroh chari indong pĕngasoh pĕngiring,
Chari raayat bala,
10. *Tĕmĕnggong, Bĕndahara, Kuchang, Laksamana;*
Mĕnchari kuda gajah, itek angsa, kĕrbau kambing dan biri-biri
Bĕrhimpun timbun, gĕgak gĕmpita.

Mari ka-sini! Chukup lĕngkap!
Aku 'nak panggil 'mu mari!
15. *Hai sĕmangat, anak-ku, Maharaja Chahaya!*
Mari-lah, ĕnchek! Mari, tajok! Mari, sunting! Mari, malai!
Aku 'nak sambut 'mu naik ka-anjong istana,
Ka-atas tilam pĕrhiasan pĕrmadani.
Hai sĕmangat anak-ku, Maharaja Chahaya!
20. *Mari-lah, 'chek! 'Nak sambut.*
Jangan-lah kasehkan indong pĕngasoh-mu!
Hai sabun puteh! sabun hitam! sabun hijau! sabun biru! saban ungu! sisir sa-bĕlah!
Chahaya jin shaitan sisir sa-bĕlah!
Chahaya yang sa-bĕnar chahaya anak-ku."

"My soul, my child, Princess Splendid!
I sent you to your mother for six months, to receive you growing tall in the seventh month.
The time is fulfilled, and I receive you.
I told you to sail to the sea which is black, the sea which is green, the sea which is blue and the sea which is purple,
To the land of Rome, to India, China and Siam.
Now I would welcome you up into a palace hall.
To a broidered mat and carpet.
I would summon nurses and followers,
Subjects and soldiers and court dignitaries for your service;
I would assemble horses and elephants, ducks and geese, buffaloes and goats and sheep with all their din.
Come, for all is ready!
I would call you hither,
My soul, my child, Princess Splendid!
Come, my crown and my garland, flower of my delight!
I welcome you up to a palace-hall,
To a broidered mat and carpet.
My soul, my child, Princess Splendid!
Come! I would welcome you!
Forget your nurses.
White and black and green and blue and purple get ye aside!
Brightness of genie and devil begone!
The real brightness is the brightness of my child."

After the recital of this invocation the soul of the rice (*sĕmangat padi*) will come in the form of a grasshopper or other insect with the sound of a breeze. If the rice-soul fails to appear after the invocation, lines 15-21 should be repeated thrice, whereupon the rice-soul is sure to appear. The Pawang holds his breath, closes his teeth, cuts the ears

of the seven plants and puts them in his basket. The stalks whence the ears have been cut are smeared with clay "as medicine for their hurt from the knife" and hidden under neighbour stalks as yet uncut. Before he leaves, the Pawang faces the east and touching the maimed stalks cries :—

Hai Dang 'Pok! Dang Malini!
Bĕrtompok dayang di-sini.
Dang 'Pok! Dang Malini!
Tĕtap dayang di-sini!
Bĕrgĕrak langit tujoh lapis,
Bĕrgĕrak anak-ku Maharaja Chahaya!
Ta' bĕrgĕrak langit tujoh lapis,
Ta' bĕrgĕrak anak-ku Maharaja Chahaya!
Bĕrgĕrak bumi tujoh lapis,
Bĕrgĕrak anak-ku Maharaja Chahaya!
Ta' bĕrgĕrak bumi tujoh lapis,
Ta' bĕrgĕrak anak-ku Maharaja Chahaya!
Tĕgoh sapĕrti batu kĕras,
Sapĕrti bĕsi tĕtap-lah,
Dari dunia datang ka-akhirat;
Tĕtap sa-kali dĕngan tuboh badan ayah dan bonda-nya.
Bĕrchĕrai Allah dĕngan Muhammad,
Bĕrchĕrai 'mu dĕngan aku;
Ta' bĕrchĕrai Allah dĕngan Muhammad,
Ta' bĕrchĕrai 'mu dĕngan aku.

"Ho Dang 'Pok! Dang Malini!
Grow here in clumps!
Establish youiselves here.
If the seven tiers of the heavens are shaken,
Then only shall my child Princess Splendid be shaken;
If the seven layers of earth be shaken,
Then only shall my child Princess Splendid be shaken.
Else shall she be established as rock, firm as iron,
From this world unto the world hereafter,
Established in limbs and body with father and mother.
Only if the Prophet be parted from Allah,
Shall she be parted from me."

Finally the Pawang kisses the rice-stalks at the place where they are decorated with thread and sprays.

In an account collected at Batu Kurau, in the Larut district of Perak, there are a few differences. The incantations are in debased Arabic. The seven chosen plants, it is explained, are not tied with the many-coloured thread and sprays till after the *padi* spirit has appeared: and that spirit comes in a whirl of breeze, but is thought to have taken fomerly the shape of a girl, *Ninek Kĕmang*. Sprays and thread are wound also about the edge of the basket which is to receive the rice-soul ears, while inside the basket are put an

egg, a quid of betel and a lump of benzoin. A ring of wax is slipped over the top of the reaping-knife (*kĕpala tuai*) which is then fumigated and sprinkled with yellow rice and rice-paste. The seven ears are wrapped in a white cloth before being placed in the basket. Not till three days after this formal taking of the seven ears that keep the rice-soul may the actual harvesting be started.

The (*sĕmangat padi*) rice-soul before it descends to earth is described as *nur hayatu'llah* and after being planted as *nur maniah*.

These accounts should be compared with other accounts recorded in Skeat's "Malay Magic." One may note that, while marriage ceremonies in Upper Perak differ considerably from those in the south of the Peninsula, these rice ceremonies are those practised everywhere.

The charms translated in this paper require little comment. "The sea that is black, the sea that is green, the sea that is blue and the sea that is purple" symbolize the dark earth of rice-fields cleared for sowing, the fields green with the young rice-plants and changing tint till the crop is harvested.

XVIII. RICE CEREMONIES IN NEGRI SEMBILAN.

By R. O. WINSTEDT.

This account was collected in the Tampin district ten years ago.

Planting out Seed.

Neutralizing rice-paste is used along with *daun ati-ati*, *gandarusa*, *daun ribu-ribu*, *daun si-dingin*, *daun si-puleh*, and a lump of white clay.

The rice-paste and the five herbs are taken and the clay is kneaded with water and put in a cup. Incense is burnt and the bundles of herbs fumigated. Then the tips of the herbs are dipped in the clayey water, and that water is sprinkled over the seed before it is sown, these words being recited:—

Tĕpong tawar! tĕpong jati
Dapat mas bĕrkati-kati!
Aku mĕnĕpong tawar bĕras padi;
Sudah bĕrisi, maka mĕnjadi.

"Rice-paste without speck,
I'll get gold by the peck,
I charm my rice husked and in ear;
I'll get full grain within the year."

The husbandman sows the seed with his left hand, crying:—

A's-salam alaikum,
Ibu-ka bumi! bapa-ku ayer!
Aku mĕnĕpongkan anak-ku,
Si-dang sari, si-dang rupa sari!
Si-dayang sĕri tongkat,
Sokong iman dalam nĕgĕri!
Jangan-lah di-rosak-binasakan sĕri sĕmangat!
Mari-lah kita sa-ujud sa-darah sa-daging!
Janji kita ĕmpat bulan kĕlima datang.
Jangan ĕngkau lengah di-kampong orang!
Jangan ĕngkau lengah di-laman orang!
Jangan lengah di-bĕlota orang!
Jangan lengah di-mĕnsiang orang!
Kur, sĕmangat! Mari-lah pulang!
Ini tangkal Langkesa!
Jangan ĕngkau ta' tumboh.
Aku tahu asal mula ĕngkau jadi:
Uri tĕmbuni kĕtuban asal mula ĕngkau jadi.

"Peace be unto ye,
Father earth, mother water!

I charm a lovely maid,
A maid of fair countenance,
The support and prop of the country's peace
Hurt not nor harm her fair spirit!
Come! Thou and I are one flesh and blood and being!
When the fourth month is past, thou shalt return.
Linger not by men's homesteads!
Linger not in men's courtyards!
Linger not at feast of harvesters,
Nor by the tall rushes that grow in the swamp.
Come, my soul! Come!
This is the charm of Langkesa.
Fail not to grow up;
For I know whereof thou wast made;
Of after-birth thou wast created."

Planting out the Rice-Plants.

This is the invocation :—

Hai Langkesa! Langkesi!
Diri bĕrĕmpat, bĕrlima dĕngan kami!
Jangan di-rosak di-binasakan anak kami!
Jikalau di-rosak, bĕrubah sĕtia dĕngan kami,
Di-makan bĕsi kawi-lah ĕngkau!
Di-timpa daulat Pagar Ruyong!
Di-timpa Kuran tiga-puloh juz-lah ĕngkau.
Kabulkan Allah!

"Spirits of the field!
Ye are four; counting me we are five.
Hurt not nor harm my child.
Break faith and ye shall be stricken
By the iron that is sacred,
By the majesty of Pagar Ruyong,
By the thirty chapters of the Koran!
God fulfil my curse!"

This is the invocation used with the rice-paste :—

Tĕpong tawar! tĕpong jati!
Di-lĕtak dalam gantang dua tiga gantang
Mĕnanti bĕribu kati gantang yang datang.
Tĕpong tawar! tĕpong jati!
Tanah tambak tambun bĕrisi
Buleh bagi kĕhĕndak hati,
Dapat padi bĕribu kati.
Jangan sakit, jangan mati,
Kain puteh tudong puteh:
Bĕrkat Nabi Allah Ibrahim,
Bĕrkat Dato' ĕmpat pĕnjuru 'alam,
Bĕrkat Muhammad Rasulu 'llah.

"Rice-paste without speck,
I measure you out by the peck;
Two or three pecks now I pile,
Thousands more come in a while
Rice-paste without speck!
May my land yield me many a peck
Of rice that grows sans blight or speck
On ridges banked and fat with grain!
By grace of Allah's Prophet Abraham;
By grace of the Elders at the four corners of the world;
By grace of Muhammad Apostle of God."

The Harvest.

This is the invocation used to summon the rice-soul at harvest. While uttering it, one waves a white cloth so that the rice-soul shall not fall on and crush one at her coming:—

Hai si-dang muri! si-dang gĕmbala! si-dang tatap! si-dang yas!
Yang di-atas bahagian aku;
Yang di-bawah bahagian ĕngkau.
Jangan di-rosak di-binasakan bahagian aku;
Jikalau di-rosak di-binasakan bahagian aku,
Ĕngkau di-makan Koran tiga-puloh juz!
Itu-lah tanggongan ĕngkau.

"Spirits that peep and guard!
All that shows above the field is my portion
All that lies below is your portion.
Hurt not nor destroy my portion;
Else ye shall be devoured by the thirty chapters of the Koran;
That shall be your doom."

After that, pay one's respects to earth and water.

Expelling Evil from the Fields.

On p. 249 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch*, No. 77, 1917, I have described the ceremony called *bĕrpuar* and referred also to Mr. Blagden's account quoted on p. 230 of Skeat's "Malay Magic."

Below is an invocation used:—

Bismi 'llahi 'r-Rahmani-r-Rahimi!
Hai dato, pĕtala bumi, jin tanah!
Bĕrhala besi!
Anak (?) Wani, Bujang Wani!
Anak (?) Wayan, Bujang Bandan!
Mĕnyiah ĕngkau, jin dan shaitan!

Kudĕrat Allah hĕndak lalu.
Ah Si-Jĕranjang! Si-Jĕranjing!
Tundok-lah ĕngkau!
Anak harimau jantan lalu.
Hai jin dan shaitan!
Jĕmbalang, jĕmbali!
Jangan ĕngkau ka-mari mĕnĕmpoh larangan firman Allah taala!
Jikalau ĕngkau mĕnĕmpoh larangan firman Allah taala,
Dĕrhaka-lah ĕngkau ka-pada zat wajibu'l-ujud.
Aku tahu asal ĕngkau jadi;
Tanah Bukit Si-Guntang Mahameru asal mula ĕngkau jadi;
Andĕrang akan raja ĕngkau;
Anjami akan bapa ĕngkau;
Yang diam di-awang-awang Si-Lela Si-Manjamun nama ĕngkau;
Yang diam di-langit Si-Juak nama ĕngkau;
Yang diam di-kayu ara Si-Tinjau nama ĕngkau;
Yang diam di-ayer Si-Karakah nama ĕngkau;
Yang diam di-jalan Si-Jĕranjang nama ĕngkau,
Umanatu'llah kapada aku!
Rasulu'llah akan jungongan aku!
Kiraman Katibin akan sĕnjata-ku!
Jibrail, Mikail, Israfil, Azrail akan saudara-ku!
Tujoh lapis kota bĕsi tĕmpat ku-diam.
Ya Malik ..... turun bĕrpĕrang mĕmĕliharakan diri-ku;
Mĕnurunkan doa si-panchar matahari pĕnundokkan Raja (?) Malin.
Sĕdang Raja Malin lagi tundok khidmat kapada aku,
Kunun rayat tantĕra-nya jin dan shaitan jĕmbalang jĕmbali tundok kapada aku.
Ah Si-Kasim! Si-Kunchai-Kunchai! Si-Tongkat-Tongkat!
Tĕrkunchi-lah gigi ĕngkau yang dĕngki khianat kapada aku:
Tĕrkunchi hati jantong limpa ĕngkau yang bĕrniat jahat kapada aku!
Aku tahu asal ĕngkau jadi,
Si-Katimuna asal ĕngkau jadi,
Ah! ĕngkau bĕrsusah hati, ĕngkau sĕsak!
Ĕngkau mĕmandang, mata ĕngkau pĕchah!
Ĕngkau mĕnyĕrudok, ponggong ĕngkau burok!
Ninek yang diam di-tĕlok rantau tanah ayer sa-rantau ulu sa-rantau hilir,
Yang diam di-bukit bĕlukar rimba batas gaung guntong
Sa-kampong ulu, mata ayer, kayu bĕsar, batu bĕsar!
Bawa-lah rayat tantĕra ĕngkau,
Bawa-lah anak pinak ĕngkau.
Kapada si-rendang yang bĕsar ujong tanah
Di-bawah kaki bukit Kaf.

Jangan-lah aku di-rosak di-binasakan!
Di-timpa daulat firman Allah taala ĕngkau!
Kĕrana aku sĕrta Allah dan sĕrta Muhammad Rasulu'llah
Sĕrta anbia' Allah dan aulia Allah
Sĕrta malaikat yang ĕmpat-puloh ĕmpat
Jibrail Mikail Israfil, Azrail;
Aku sĕrta Kuran tiga-puloh juz.
Nabi Noh yang mĕmĕgang bumi,
Nabi Elias yang mĕmĕgang kayu,
Nabi Khidzr yang mĕmĕgang batu,
Lukmanu'l-Hakim yang mĕmĕgang bĕsi,
Nabi Sulaiman yang mĕmĕgang sĕgala yang bĕrnyawa!
Aku mĕmohonkan bumi ayer, kayu batu,
Tĕmpat mĕmbuat nĕgĕri kampong laman rumah tangga.
Hai sĕgala yang bĕrnyawa!
Jangan-lah kami di-rosak di-binasakan!
Jikalau di-rosak di-binasakan kami,
Di-timpa daulat firman Allah taala ĕngkau
Dan bĕrkat mu'jizah Muhammad Rasulu'llah dan anbia' Allah,
Dan kĕramat sĕgala anbia' Allah
Dan kĕramat sĕgala malaikat ĕmpat-puloh ĕmpat,
Jibrail, Mikail, Israfil, Azrail.
Ah ninek Karakah tua, Ninek Kĕbayan Bandan pĕliharakan kami!
Jangan di-rosak di-binasakan kami!
Jikalau di-rosak di-binasakan kami,
Dĕrhaka-lah ĕngkau kapada Allah!
Jikalau mata ĕngkau yang elah dĕngki,
Mata ĕngkau di-pĕchahkan Allah!
Jikalau tangan kaki ĕngkau yang dĕngki khianat
Tangan kaki ĕngkau di-patahkan Allah;
Jikalau hati jantong limpa ĕngkau yang bĕrniat dĕngki khianat,
Hati jantong limpa ĕngkau di-hanchorkan Muhammad,
Di-hanchorkan Baginda Rasulu'llah.

This invocation is probably corrupt in places, so far as the names of spirits goes and is full of repetition: so my translation is abbreviated.

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate!
Spirits of earth and soil!
Genies and devils! get ye hence!
Make way for the might of Allah!
Bow down, for as a tiger I pass by.
Genies and devils and gnomes
Trespass not where Allah hath forbidden;
Else ye be traitors to Him who was from the beginning.
I know the origin whence ye sprang:
From the soil of Mount Mahameru ye were born,

Bearing different names according as ye haunt
Sky or heaven, fig, water or road.
I have Allah's mandate:
His Prophet is my prop;
The Recording Angels fight for me;
The four Archangels are my brethren;
I live in a fort with seven walls of steel.
Descend angels and protect me
And cause my enemies to bow down.
Locked be the teeth and heart and liver
Of all who purpose evil against me.
I know the origin of ye spirits of evil;
Ye were sprung from the serpent Si-Katimuna.
May ye be afflicted and distressed;
When ye gaze, may your eyes be blinded,
And may your going be shameful and grovelling,
Granddam! thou who dwellest in bay and reaches, up-stream and down,
Dwellest on mountain and in forest and on mound,
In ravine and valley and spring and tree and rock!
Take thy soldiery, thy people, and thy children
To the shady tree at the land's end
At the foot of Mount Kaf.
Keep me from harm and destruction
Or thou shalt be smitten by the majesty of God's word.
For God and Muhammad and His saints and Prophets
And the Angels forty and four and the four Archangels
Are with me.
Noah, guardian of earth,
Jacob, guardian of rock,
Lukman, guardian of iron,
Solomon, guardian of all living things
I crave earth, water, wood and stone,
A place to build houses and hamlets and a country.
Ho! all living creatures,
We are all of one origin, all servants of God!
If ye harm or destroy me,
Ye shall be smitten by the word of God,
The miraculous power of Muhammad,
The sanctity of His saints and prophets,
By the four and forty angels,
The four archangels and the thirty chapters of the Koran!
Granddam save me from harm!
If thy eye offend me, God shall blind thee;
If thy hand molest me, God shall break it;
If thy heart purpose evil towards me,
It shall be crushed by the Apostle of God."

Finally comes a charm to open the doors of the seven layers of earth and the doors of the seven layers of heaven.

" Hai jin kafir ! jin Islam !
Kita orang sa-asal, sama hamba Allah.
Tĕtapi ĕngkau jadi dari-pada chahaya api nuraka,
Aku jadi dari-pada chahaya nur Muhammad ;
Ĕngkau anak jin Si-Katimuna,
Aku anak chuchu nabi Allah Adam ;
Ĕngkau ummat Nabi Sulaiman,
Aku ummat Nabi Muhammad.
Ĕngkau pun hamba Allah,
Aku pun hamba Allah.
Jangan-lah ĕngkau mĕnyakiti sĕgala ummat Muhammad !
Jikalau ĕngkau sakiti dan ĕngkau binasakan sĕgala ummai Muhammad,
Durhaka-lah ĕngkau kapada Allah
Dan kapada Rasulu'llah
Dan kapada sĕgala anbia Allah dan aulia Allah
Dan kapada malaikat yang ĕmpat-puloh ĕmpat,
Jibrail, Mikail, Israfil, Azrail.
Ah jin dan shaitan, jĕmbalang jĕmbali !
Mĕnyiah ĕngkau dari sini
Kapada si-rendang yang bĕsar ujong tanah
Di-bawah kaki Bukit Kaj.
Jikalau tiada ĕngkau mĕnyiah ka-sana,
Durhaka-lah ĕngkau kapada zat wajibu'l-ujud
Baitu'l-Mukaddis tanah tĕrjali.
Maka hitam merah tanah ku-lĕtak di-gulang-gulang ;
Hantu tanah ! jĕmbalang tanah ! jangan ĕngkau mĕng-ulang-ulang."

" Genies infidel and Muslim !
You and I are one origin, both servants of God.
But ye are born of hell-fire,
And I of the light of the Prophet ;
Ye are children of Si-Katimuna the serpent,
I am descended from the Prophet Adam ;
Ye are followers of the Prophet Solomon,
I am a follower of the Prophet Muhammad.
You and I are servants of God.
Plague not the followers of Muhammad,
Else ye will be traitors to God,
To His Prophet and the four archangels
And the angels forty and four.
Genies and devils and gnomes !
Get hence to the big leafy tree at the land's end
At the foot of Mount Kaf,
Else ye will be traitors to Him who was from the beginning
To God's House at Jerusalemen, the primal land.
My altar is strewn with clods red and black :
Genies ! gnomes ! hence! and come ye not back.

XIX. MALAY CHARMS.

By R. O. Winstedt.

Part 1.—Love Charms.

Turning over an accumulation of MSS. on Malay history, Malay customs, Malay games and so on, I came lately across a collection of charms, mostly from Perak and Province Wellesley. I give the Malay versions with a translation.

(1) *Bab hikmat pĕrĕmpuan di-buat kundang. Sahaya Abdul-Ghafar dapat dari-pada Tuan Haji Abdu'r-Rahman, pĕrmintaan-nya wang tiga ringgit, kain puteh lima hasta, jarum bĕnang, asam garam, sireh pinang.*

Ambil pasir kaki-nya atau pasir jambatan-nya atau muka pintu-nya. Maka ambil pula baju hitam yaani bulat bulan leher-nya; buboh pasir itu di-dalam-nya, koyak kiri kanan, buat sapĕrti anak-anakan; lipat dua, ikat dĕngan bĕnang tujoh warna. Maka putar sĕlalu pagi pĕtang, tĕngah hari, tĕngah malam. Atau sĕlalu sahaja bacha doa ini tiga kali atau tujoh kali. Insha' Allah taala nĕschaya-lah datang pĕrĕmpuan itu ka-pada kita. Ini-lah doa-nya.

Bismi 'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi!
Burong-ku (?) si-mara-mara hinggap di-gunong (?)
Chĕrkana kari.
Apa di-buat (si-anu) di-sana sa-hari-hari?
Minyak-ku si-minyak perak sĕlaseh:
Liar mĕnjadi jinak, bĕrkat ku-pakai kundang si-palit gila.
Gila bĕrahi-lah mata hati jantong nafsu (si-anu) ka-pada aku;
Gila siang, gila malam,
Gila pĕtang dini-hari;
Datang mĕnyĕrahkan diri-nya.
Kĕrana aku tahu asal (si-anu) jadi:
Wadi madzi mani manikam,
Darah puteh dari bapa-nya,
Darah merah dari ibu-nya:
Itu-lah asal (si-anu) jadi.
Kur sĕmangat (si-anu)!
Mari-lah datang ka-pada aku
Mĕnyĕrahkan diri-mu,
Bĕrkat doa "La ilaha illa'llah, Muhammad Rasulu-'llah."

A charm for controlling a girl's affections got by me Abdul-Ghafar from Haji Abdu'r-Rahman for three dollars,

three yards of white cloth, cotton and thread, limes and salt, betel-nut and *sireh*.

Take sand from her footprint or her foot-bridge or from the front of her house-door. Take a black jacket oval at the neck; put the sand in the jacket; tear it right and left and make it up like a doll; fold it in two and tie it with threads of seven colours. Turn the doll round every morning and evening, at mid-day, at midnight. Or recite this incantation continually three or seven times. Please God, the girl will come to you. This is the incantation :—

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
My bird *si-mara-mara* is perched on Mount Cherkanakari.
What is my love doing yonder day after day?
The magic oil I use shines silver and black!
The wild becomes tame by virtue of this charm that sways my love to passion!
Madly in love be the liver and heart of her towards me;
In love by day, in love by night;
In love at eve, in love at dawn:
Let her come and give herself to me.
For I know whereof she was born,
The elements of the seed that made her,
White blood from her father's side,
Red blood from her mother's:
That is whereof she was born.
Come to me, soul of my beloved!
Come and give thyself to me,
By virtue of the invocation. "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Apostle."

(2) *Sa-bagai lagi ini suatu kundang jua, Panah Rajuna nama-nya.*

Bila kita mahu tidor siang atau sĕnja bĕrmula bacha sakali, tĕpok bantal tujoh kali, kata "Kur sĕmangat si-anu." Bacha sampai tiga kali: kĕmudian balekkan bantal itu bacha bagitu juga, buat bagitu juga lalu tidor di-atas-nya. Buat-lah tiga kali suatu malam dan pagi-pagi dan tĕngah hari dan pĕtang: insha 'llah taala, tĕrlalu mustajah. Inilah doa-nya:—

Bismi 'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi!
Hai sahabat-ku Panah Rajuna!
Pĕrgi-lah ĕngkau,
Masok pada tangkai hati jantong hawa nafsu (si-anu),
Kunangkan rupa-ku dalam hati jantong (si-anu) itu.
Aku panahkan di-langit, langit runtoh:

Aku panahkan di-bumi, bumi mĕlayang :
Aku panahkan di-ayer, ayer tĕrbang :
Aku panahkan di-laut, laut kĕring.
Aku panahkan di-mata hati jantong (si-anu) itu, hanchor luloh.
Hai, sĕmangat(si-anu) !
Mari-lah ĕngkau di-sini ka-pada aku !
Mari datang mĕnyĕrahkan diri-mu !
Jika (si-anu) tidor, ĕngkau jagakan ;
Jika (si-anu) jaga, ĕngkau jalankan
Bawa datang bĕrsama-sama mĕndapatkan aku :
Kundang-kundangkan ujud-ku pada nafsu (si anu) siang malam.
Jika tĕrbalek bumi dĕngan langit,
Boleh-lah (si-anu) bĕrchĕrai dĕngan aku ;
Bĕrchĕrai Allah dĕngan Muhammad,
Boleh-lah (si-anu) bĕrchĕrai dĕngan aku.
Jika tiada tĕrbalek bumi dĕngan langit,
Jika tiada bĕrchĕrai Allah dĕngan Muhammad,
Insha' llah taala bĕrkat Muhammad Rasulu' llah
Dan bĕrkat Sang Rajuna
Nĕschaya gila bĕrahi-lah (si-anu) ka-pada aku
Datang mĕnyĕrahkan diri-nya ka-pada aku,
Bĕrkat doa, " La ilaha illa 'llah, Muhammad Rasulu-'llah."

This is another love-compelling charm, named after Sang Rajuna.

Recite this charm once when retiring to sleep by day or evening, patting one's pillow seven times and adding "Come, soul of my beloved!" Recite the charm thrice on every occasion: then turn over your pillow, recite it thrice more, tapping your pillow and adding the same words as before. Use the charm thrice at night and dawn and midday. Please God it will be most efficacious. This is the charm :—

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate !
Come my friend, arrow of Rajuna!
Go pierce the heart and liver, the seat of the passions of my beloved ;
Take fix my image in her heart and liver ;
If I shoot this dart at the sky, it shall fall ;
If I shoot it at earth, the earth shall vanish ;
If I shoot it at the water, the water shall fly away,
If I shoot it at the sea, the sea shall dry up,
If I shoot it at the liver and heart of my beloved, they shall dissolve.
Come to me, soul of my beloved!
Come give yourself to me!
If she sleeps, awaken her, oh dart!

If she is awake, make her to come to me,
Bring her to look for me;
Fix my person in her heart by day and by night!
Only if earth and heaven are upset,
Can she be parted from me:
Only if God and His Prophet are parted,
Can she be parted from me:
If earth and heaven are not upset,
If God and His Prophet are not parted,
Then by the grace of God and His Prophet,
By the grace of Sang Rajuna,
Assuredly my beloved shall long after me,
Coming and giving herself to me,
By virtue of the invocation, "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Apostle."

(3) *Sa-bagai lagi hikmat pĕrĕmpuan. Jika jauh sa-tĕngah hari pĕrjalanan pun, datang juga insha'llah.*

Ambil pasir kaki pĕrĕmpuan itu, bungkuskan dĕngan kain puteh lebar sa-jĕngkal tĕlunjok, ĕmpat pĕrsĕgi, ikat dĕngan bĕnang tujoh warna; usap kĕmĕnyan; bacha tiga kali putar: tĕtapi sa-kali bacha sa-kali putar; atau bacha tiga kali, maka putar tujoh kali. Mĕmbuat-nya itu lima kali sa-hari sa-malam atau sĕlalu sahaja: tĕrlalu baik.

(*Hamba dapat dari Ĕnche' Kuning, orang Kĕlang: minta-nya asam garam, duit tiga suku, kain puteh lima hasta, jarum sa-batang*). *Ini-lah doa-nya:—*

Bismi'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi!
Tĕmiang buloh pĕrindu di-buat tungku,
Buloh pĕrindu, batu bĕrani tumboh di-tasek pauh Janggi
Bĕrputar-lah iman (si-anu) sapĕrti pĕlayang ini,
Bĕrahi ta' boleh di-ubat lagi;
Bagai di-layang mata hati jantong nyawa
Roh hĕmpĕdu badan sĕmangat (si-anu) juga.
Kur, sĕmangat (si-anu)!
Siang malam mĕnaroh rindu chinta gila kapada aku sa-orang,
Kĕrana aku tahu asal mula (si-anu) jadi:
Wadi madzi mani manikam,
Darah puteh dari bapa-nya,
Darah merah dari ibu-nya:
Itu-lah asal mula (si-anu) jadi.
Hai (si-anu) gila bĕrahi-lah ĕngkau ka-pada aku,
Datang mĕnyĕrahkan diri-mu ka-pada aku!
Sidi pĕngajar guru-ku!

Bĕrkat doa, "La ilaha illa'-llah, Muhammad Rasulu'-llah."

Another charm, that please God shall bring a woman even half a day's journey to one.

Take sand from her footprint, wrap it in a square of white cloth, the breadth of the span between thumb and first finger; tie in thread of seven colours; fumigate it with incense; recite the charm thrice, turning the cloth round once at each recital; or recite it thrice, turning the cloth round seven times. Do this continually or five times day and night.

(I got this from 'Enche Kuning, a Klang man; he asked for limes and salt, 3 *suku* in cash, five yards of white cloth, and a needle). This is the charm:—

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
My cooking-place is built of the magic bamboo that excites to love,
Of magic bamboo and of lodestone from the navel of the sea.
May my beloved's virtue be turned as I turn this cloth!
May she fall in love beyond cure,
Her heart and liver and soul dizzy with love,
The soul of her, her body and spirit!
Come to me, beloved!
Be mad with love for me only, by night and day!
For I know the origin whence you sprang, etc.

(4) *Sa-bagai lagi hikmat kundang.*

Ambil satu limau; ambil pula lidi kĕlapa ijau sa-potong, chuchok kĕpala limau itu tĕrus-mĕnĕrus, biar lĕbeh kiri kanan-nya panjang satu jari tĕmpat mĕnggantong-nya itu. Ada pun bĕnang pĕnggantong-nya itu bĕnang tujoh warna. Dan biar lĕbeh bĕnang itu dan ikat bĕnang sapĕrti itu juga, biar tĕrgantong di-bawah, tĕmpat mĕnyĕmbunyikan-nya itu. Maka ambil pula tujoh lidi, tajamkan, kiri kanan-nya tikam tĕrus pada pĕrut limau itu, kira-kira lĕbeh sa-bĕlah kiri kanan-nya dua jari gantong. Marifat mĕnikam itu mĕnikam mata hati jantong nyawa roh hĕmpĕdu. Buboh bunga mĕlor pada ujong lidi itu satu-satu. Ada pun mula mĕmbuat-nya itu dari pĕtang hari thalatha; jika sampai tiga hari, pada pĕtang jumaat. Tatkala kita mĕnikamkan lidi, maarifatkan mĕnikamkan hati pĕrĕmpuan itu. Bacha doa tiga kali atau tujoh kali; sa-kali bacha sa-kali ayun, usap kĕmĕnyan. Buat lima kali sa-hari sa-malam. Mĕmbuat-nya di-dalam suatu tĕmpat tiada boleh orang masok atau tidor baring.

Hikmat ini kĕturunan dari Abdullah Hamid, insha'llah tĕrlalu mustajab. Ini-lah doa-nya:—

Bismi'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi!
Anak hĕlang sa-ekor lĕmpai hinggap di-ujong tanjong!
Hati pĕrut (si-anu) sudah ku-lambai;

Kandong Allah, kandong Muhammad,
Kandong baginda Rasulu'llah.
Hai Sidi ! Turun-lah ĕngkau ka-pada (si-anu) itu,
Masok dalam pĕrut-nya
Ujudkan rupa-ku
Di-dalam mata hati jantong nyawa roh hĕmpĕdu badan
Sĕmangat ujud (si-anu);
Siang malam gila bĕrahi ka-pada aku.
Hai sidi mani manikam yang ada ka-pada aku,
Pĕrgi-lah ĕngkau ambil nyawa roh hĕmpĕdu badan sĕmangat (si-anu) itu,
Bawa datang di-sini bĕrsuka-ria pangku bĕlai ka-pada aku,
Suroh mĕnyĕmbah mĕnyĕrahkan diri-nya,
Sapĕrti Siti Zulaikha dĕngan Nabi Yusof
Kabul mustajab sa-rupa kundang-ku,
Bĕrkat doa, "La ilaha illa-llah, Muhammad Rasulu-'llah."

Another love charm.

Take a lime, pierce it with the midrib of a fallen coco-nut palm leaving one finger's length sticking out on either side whereby to hang the lime. Hang it up with thread of seven colours, leaving the thread also hanging loose an inch below the lime. Take seven sharpened midribs and stick them into the lime leaving two fingers' length projecting. The sticking of the midrib into the lime is to symbolize piercing the heart and liver and life and soul and gall of the beloved. Put jasmine on the ends of the midrib skewers. Do this first on Monday night, for three nights, and on Friday night. Imagine you pierce the girl's heart as you pierce the lime. Recite this charm three or seven times, swinging the lime each time you recite and fumigating it with incense. Do this five times a day and a night in a private place, where no one shall enter or sleep.

This charm comes down from Abdullah Hamid, and please God is very efficacious. This is the charm:—

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate !
A young hawk perches drooping on the headland awaiting prey.
I have waved my beloved's heart and affections to come to me !
Her spirit is confined in an enclosure
Prepared by God and Muhammad, His Apostle.
Ah Sidi ! come enter her affections,
Fix my image in the heart and soul and spirit, her gall and liver and body and person !

Let her be mad after me night and day!
May the sperm and seed that is mine be efficacious
To go and bring the life and soul and gall and body of her
Here to play and sport in my lap,
To bow and give herself to me,
As Zulaikha gave herself to Joseph.
So may my charm work and avail
By grace of the invocation, "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Apostle."

(5) *Sa-bagai lagi hikmat kundang pĕrĕmpuan. Pada malam buat tiga kali, pada suatu waktu bacha tiga kali; jikalau boleh, buat pagi-pagi dan tĕngah hari juga:—*

Bismi'llahi'r-Rahmani'r-Rahimi!
Hai sahabat-ku, Jin Jewa sĕmbawarna,
Dan Jin Hawa mĕngĕrna,
Yang bĕrgĕlang tĕmbaga,
Yang bĕrbaju bĕsi!
Minta pĕrgi dato' ka-pada si-anu,
Masok dalam pĕrut-nya,
Rosakkan mata hati jantong iman si-anu,
Chĕkekkan leher-nya,
Jangan di-bĕri makan,
Jangan di-bĕri minum:
Siang malam gila bĕrahi ka-pada aku;
Suroh mĕnyĕmbah mĕnyĕrahkan diri-nya.
"Bismi 'llahi"—aku makan tuboh badan (si-anu):
"A'r-Rahmani"—aku tĕlan mata hati jantong (si-anu):
"A'r-Rahimi"—aku minum otak bĕnak darah roh sĕmangat (si-anu).
Kur sĕmangat (si-anu)!
Hai dato' Jin kĕdua-nya,
Pĕrgi-lah ĕngkau ambilkan (si-anu) itu
Bawa datang ka-pada aku;
Bĕrkat doa, "La ilaha illa 'llah, Muhammad Rasulu'llah."

Another charm to win a woman's affections.

Recite it three times at night, thrice each time; and if possible, at dawn and noon.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
Genie of golden life!
Genie of bright desire!
Wearing bangles of brass and coat of steel!
Go enter the affections of my beloved,
Seducing her eyes, her heart, her virtue!
Strangle her that she may neither eat nor drink,
Being madly in love with me by day and by night.

Bid her bow and yield herself to me.
"In the name of God" —I devour her body;
"The Merciful" —I eat her heart;
"The Compassionate" —I drink her life's blood and her brains and her spirit.
Come to me, my soul!
Go Genies twain and fetch her to me
By virtue of the invocation—"There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Apostle."

(6) *Bab pĕmanis.*

"*Tawarkan tiga kali pada minyak kĕlapa : kita pakai.*
Ini-lah doa-nya :—
Bismi'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi!
Minyak minyak sĕndiri,
Minyak minyak kĕlapa mayang mĕngurai!
Allah Tuhan, yang mĕngasehani
Mĕlimpahkan chahaya-nya bumi langit :
Aku pakai pada diri-ku chahaya Allah,
Chahaya Muhammad, chahaya baginda Rasulu'llah,
Jadi chantek manis-lah rupa-ku, elok-nya gilang-gumilang.
Bukan santan dadeh yang lĕmak
Bukan gula yang manis,
Aku-lah yang lĕmak manis di-mata hati jantong hawa sĕgala manusia,
Tĕrharok chinta kaseh sĕgala manusia ka-pada aku dĕngan kaseh yang amat sayang!
Bĕrkat aku mĕmakai minyak sĕri 'alam,
Bĕrkat doa, "La ilaha illa 'llah, Muhammad Rasulu-'llah."

A woman's ch armfor beauty.

Recite it thrice over coconut oil, then use the oil. This is the incantation :—

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
This is essential oil, from a palm with tress-like blossom.
God is Lord and He pities us and sheds His light on earth and sky;
I wear on my body the light God sheds,
The light of Muhammad, Apostle of God.
So am I sweet and lovely and shining,
Sweeter than curds and coconut-milk,
Sweeter than sugar in the eyes and hearts of all [men;
So that they are distracted with love for me
By virtue of this oil, the pride of the world,
And by virtue of the invocation, "There is no God but God and Muhammad is his Apostle."

(7) *Bab pĕrkaseh pĕnurun harta orang pada kita.*

Maka kita ambil daun hĕmpĕdu bĕruang panjang satu jari tĕngah; kita tawarkan tiga kali; kĕmudian tanamkan di-bawah pintu orang itu, atau pintu kita, asal boleh di-langkah-nya orang itu. Ini-lah doa-nya:—

Bismi'llahi'r-Rahmani'r-Rahimi!
Daun ini panah Sang Rajuna:
Aku panahkan di-gunong, gunong bĕlah,
Aku panahkan di-bumi bumi pĕchah;
Aku panahkan di-langit, langit roboh;
Aku panahkan di-mata hati jantong (si-anu) itu,
Yang bakhil mĕnjadi murah-lah ka-pada aku,
Chinta gila mata hati jantong (si-anu)
Siang malam tiada boleh lupa,
Mĕlainkan tĕringat-ingat,
Tiada boleh jĕmu datang mĕmbĕri wang
Sĕrta harta bĕnda-nya ka-pada aku.
Bĕrkat sakti panah Sang Rajuna:
Bĕrkat doa, "La ilaha illa'llah, Muhammad Rasulu'-llah."

A charm to win a man's love and wealth.

Take a leaf of the *Brucea sumatrana* the length of a finger and a half; recite this charm over it thrice and then plant it beneath the door of the person you would infatuate or beneath your own door if he will step over it. This is the incantation:—

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
This leaf is Sang Rajuna's arrow.
If I shoot it at a mountain, the mountain will split;
If I shoot it at the earth, the earth will break;
If I shoot it at the sky, the sky will fall;
I shoot it at the heart and liver of him I would infatuate,
And he who was a miser becomes generous,
Madly in love with me day and night,
Unable to forget me,
Unsatisfied in bestowing money and property upon me.
By virtue of the magic of Sang Rajuna's arrow,
And of the invocation, "There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Apostle."

(8) *Sa-bagai lagi hikmat pĕrkaseh.*

Suratkan ka-pada kĕrtas, bungkus dĕngan kain tutup muka orang laki-laki mati: kĕmudian tawarkan pula tiga kali, tanam pada pĕrlangkahan-nya orang itu ia-itu di-rumah-nya atau di-rumah kita. Ini-lah doa-nya:—

Bismi 'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi!
Gila Allah ka-pada Muhammad:
Gila Muhammad ka-pada Allah.
Bagai-mana Allah gila kaseh ka-pada Muhammad,
Bagitu-lah mata hati jantong hawa nafsu (si-anu) gila
Datang makan minum tidor
Dari pětang sampai pagi di-rumah aku,
Tiada boleh suka pada rumah yang lain.
Jika bĕrchĕrai Allah dĕngan Muhammad
Dan bĕrgĕrak mayat di-dalam kubor,
Maka boleh-lah bĕrgĕrak mata hati jantong hawa nafsu (si-anu),
Suka makan minum tidor
Dari pĕtang sampai pagi di-rumah-nya.
Jika tiada bĕrchĕrai Allah dĕngan Muhammad,
Dan tiada bĕrgĕrak mayat di-dalam kubor,
Maka tiada-lah boleh bĕrgĕrak mata hati jantong hawa nafsu (si-anu),
Suka makan minum tidor
Dari pĕtang sampai pagi
Di-rumah aku,
Sapĕrti mayat dalam kubor.
Dĕngan izin Allah, bĕrkat doa, "La ilaha illa'llah, Muhammad Rasulu'llah."

Another love charm.

Write this incantation on paper and wrap it in cerements that have covered the face of a male corpse; sprinkle rice-paste over it thrice and bury it where the person one would charm is bound to step.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
As God loveth Muhammad and Muhammad God
So let my lover's heart lust after me,
So that he come and eat and drink and sleep
From evening unto dawn at my house,
Loathing all other resorts.
If God and Muhammad can be parted,
And a corpse move in the grave,
Then only shall the heart and desire of my lover
Be moved to eat not or drink or sleep
In my house from evening unto dawn.
If God and Muhammad cannot be parted
Or a corpse move in the grave,
Then shall the heart and desire of my lover
Be moved not to refrain from his longing
To eat and drink and sleep from eve unto dawn
In my house, like a corpse in his grave.
By the will of God and by virtue of the invocation,

"There is no God but God and Muhammad is His apostle."

(9) *Bab hikmat pĕrĕmpuan. Mahu di-rĕbus atau di-uap pada api dalam kuali atau bĕlanga.*

Ambil pasir kaki-nya atau apa-apa barang-nya, rĕbus. Tatkala mĕrĕbus atau mĕnguap, ini-lah doa-nya. Bacha tiga kali atau tujoh kali, uap lima kali satu hari satu malam atau sĕlalu. Dan lagi kata Mamu Abdu'l-Nasir, jikalau ada mĕmbuat hikmat yang di-rĕbus, boleh tawarkan dĕngan doa ini tiga kali: ini-lah doa-nya:—

Bismi 'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi!
Aku rĕbus ini, akau uap ini
dĕngan panah kudĕrat Allah,
Aku mĕlakukan kĕhĕndak Allah,
Aku mĕngambil ini dĕngan maarifat Allah.
Aku panahkan di-gunong, gunong runtoh.
Aku panahkan di-batu, batu bĕlah.
Aku panahkan di-bumi, bumi chayer.
Aku panahkan di-langit, langit jatoh.
Aku panahkan di-mata hati jantong hawa nafsu si-anu,
Si-anu hanchor luloh panas miang sapĕrti barang ini:
Hilang-lah malu si-anu ka-pada aku,
Gila bĕrahi datang mĕnyĕrahkan diri-nya,
Tiada boleh ka-mana-mana lagi,
Karna aku tahu asal mula (si-anu) jadi,
Wadi madzi mani manikam,
Darah puteh dari bapa-nya,
Darah merah dari ibu-nya,
Itu-lah asal mula si-anu jadi.
Kur sĕmangat si-anu,
Mari datang ka-pada aku sĕkarang ini
Bĕrkat doa, "La ilaha illa'llah, Muhammad Rasulu-'llah."

A charm to win a woman's affections.

Boiling or steaming over pot or saucepan is essential. Take sand from her foot-print or any possession of hers and boil or steam it. While doing so, recite this incantation three or seven times; steaming the sand continually or five times a day and a night. Mamu Abdu'l-Nasir saith that in using the boiled sand, one should recite this incantation thrice.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
I boil and steam this
To be a dart made powerful by God
Whose will I am bringing to pass.
I take this with perfect knowledge of God's will.

If I shoot it at a mountain, the mountain falls ;
If I shoot it at rock, the rock splits ;
If I shoot it at the earth, the earth dissolves ;
If I shoot it at the sky, the sky falls ;
I shoot it at the heart of my beloved
And she is broken with love and hot as this sand I steam.
She loses shame and comes and gives herself to me,
And nowhere else shall she go.
For I know whereof she was born,
The elements of the seed that made her,
White blood on her father's side,
Red blood on her mother's :
That is whereof she was born.
Come to me my beloved ! Come now !
By virtue of the invocation, "There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Apostle."

(10) *Sa-bagai lagi hikmat Si-Palit Gila. Bagitu juga hal-nya.*

Bismi 'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahim !
Aku antokkan di-gunong, gunong runtoh !
Aku antokkan di-batu, batu bĕlah.
Aku antokkan di-mata hati jantong hawa nafsu si-anu,
Si-anu hanchor luloh panas sĕgala tuboh-nya,
Bagai antok ini, tĕrantok chinta !
Ingat-lah si-anu pada aku siang malam,
Lupa-lah ia akan hal-nya sĕmua,
Gila bĕrahi ka-pada aku !
Jika ia tidor, tĕrkĕjut-lah mĕnjaga ;
Jika ia jaga, mĕnjadi bangun bĕrjalan,
Mĕnjadi hanyut-lah datang di-rumah aku.
Hilang takut hilang malu,
Sapĕrti orang mabok arak.
Bĕrkat bisa hikmat si-palit gila,
Bĕrkat bisa doa, "La ilaha illa'llah, Muhammad Rasulu'llah."

A charm called "The touch of infatuation." It works like the previous charm.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate !
I strike a mountain and it falls ;
I strike a rock and it splits asunder ;
I strike at the heart of my beloved
And she is broken and hot with love.
As I strike now, let her be smitten with love
Thinking upon me night and day,
Forgetting all else but love for me.
If she sleeps, let her wake and watch ;
If she watches, let her rise and come
Drifting willess to my house,

Devoid of fear and shame as one drunk with wine,
By virtue of the power of this charm
And the invocation, "There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Apostle."

(11) *Sa-bagai lagi hikmat pĕrĕmpuan.*

Ambil pasir atau tanah kaki pĕrĕmpuan itu, atau tanah jalan-nya atau tanah muka pintu-nya atau kĕreta-nya atau kuda-nya: minta baik-baik, tatkala mĕngambil-nya, tawarkan tiga kali, buboh pada kuali atau bĕlanga, jĕrang bakar siang malam uap-uap ia-itu goreng tiada bĕrminyak. Jika kita mahu tolong orang kita dari-pada-nya, maka mahu-lah kita tawarkan tiga kali buat tiga malam, bĕri pada orang itu suroh bakar sapĕrti itu juga: ini-lah doa-nya ajar ka-pada orang itu tatkala mĕnguap itu, bĕrkata

Bĕrkat panah Si Rajuna
Gila-lah (si-anu) itu datang.

Bila kita mĕmbakar itu, buboh bunga mĕlor barang tujoh dĕlapan kuntum: pĕtang usap kĕmĕnyan. Ini-lah doa di-bacha, tatkala mĕnguap itu:—

Bismi 'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi!
Bakar bakar pasir tanah!
Aku bakar mata hati jantong si-anu itu.
Bakar-ku panah Sang Rajuna..
Aku bakarkan di-gunong, gunong runtoh,
Aku bakarkan di-batu, batu bĕlah. [*anu*),
Aku bakarkan di-mata hati jantong hawa nafsu (*si-*
Kĕna hanchor luloh panas sĕgala tuboh-nya
Gila bĕrahi ka-pada aku,
Tidak boleh sĕnang diam;
Sapĕrti pasir ini tĕrbakar.
Bĕnchi-lah (*si-anu*) *ka-pada ibu bapa,*
Ka-pada saudara sahabat handai-nya;
Jika ia tidor, mĕnjadi jaga,
Jika ia jaga, mĕmbangun bĕrjalan
Datang kapada aku
Mĕnyĕrahkan diri-nya:
Hilang akal, hilang malu
Bĕrkat (*si-anu*) *kĕna bisa panah Sang Rajuna,*
Bĕrkat doa, "La ilaha illa'llah, Muhammad Rasulu-
'llah."

Another charm to win a woman's affections.

Take sand or earth from the woman's foot-print or from the path or from the front of her door or from her carriage wheels or her pony's hoofs; put it in pot or saucepan, and cook it day and night, frying it with oil. If one prepares it for a third party, one should neutralize it for three nights and then give it to him to cook, teaching to recite this charm as it steams.

By virtue of Sang Rajuna's arrow
May my beloved come to me distracted with love.

As one cooks the sand, place on it seven or eight jasmine buds, and at night burn benzoin. This is the charm to be recited, as the sand steams :—

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
Burn, burn, sand and earth!
I burn the heart of my beloved
And my fire is the arrow of Sang Rajuna!
If I burnt a mountain, it would fall;
If I burnt rock, it would split asunder ;
I am burning the heart of my beloved
So that she is broken and hot with love,
That giveth her no rest night or day,
Burning ever as this sand burns.
Let her cease to love parents and friends!
If she sleeps, awaken her ;
If she awakes, cause her to rise and come
Yielding herself unto me ;
Devoid of shame and discretion!
By virtue of the poison of Sang Rajuna's arrow,
By virtue of the invocation, "There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Apostle."

(12) *Sa-bagai lagi hikmat pĕrĕmpuan.*

Ambil pasir atau tanah jijak kaki-nya, buboh di-dalam bĕlanga atau kuali : buboh api, uap-lah. Dan sa-tĕngah gĕnggam lada hitam tumbok champor dan miang rĕbong barang tĕngah gĕnggam juga, buboh api siang malam. Ini-lah doa-nya :—

Bismi 'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi!
Aku mĕnggoreng anak kaki (si-anu),
Aku mĕnggoreng mata hati jantong nyawa roh hĕmpĕ-du badan (si-anu) ;
Dĕngan marifat Allah
Mata hati jantong nyawa roh hĕmpĕdu
Miang, sapĕrti kĕna miang rĕbong,
Panas, sapĕrti pasir tĕrgoreng ini,
Tiada boleh makan,
Tiada boleh minum ;
Lupa-lah ia akan diri-nya sĕrta ibu bapa-nya,
Sanak saudara-nya, sahabat handai-nya,
Chinta ingat pada aku sa-orang sahaja,
Gila bĕrahi datang mĕnyĕrahkan diri
Bĕrkat doa, "La ilaha illa'llah, Muhammad Rasulu-'llah."

Another charm for women.

Take sand or earth from the woman's foot-print, put it in pot or pan and steam it. Take also half a handful

of ground black pepper, and half a handful of itching hair-like filaments of bamboo; steam them night and day. This is the incantation:—

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
I fry the foot-print, the heart, liver, gall, life and soul of my beloved,
With perfect knowledge of God's will.
May they itch with love, as if touched with this bamboo;
Be hot with love as this sand is hot,
So that she desire not meat and drink,
Forgetting herself, her parents, her friends and relations,
Thinking only of her love for me,
Coming infatuated and giving herself to me;
By virtue of the invocation, "There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Apostle."

Dan lagi jikalau boleh, tĕrlĕbeh baik di-tambah dĕngan ini:—

Bismi 'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi!
Hai sahabat-ku pĕnghulu Iblis!
Hai sĕgala hantu shaitan
Yang suka mĕngachau orang!
Aku minta-minta-lah ka-pada dato'-dato'
Minta pĕrgi-lah
Masok ka-dalam pĕrut (si-anu) itu,
Gorengkan mata hati jantong-nya,
Sapĕrti pasir ini tĕrgoreng;
Gila bĕrahi 'kan aku:
Bawa datang
Suroh mĕnyĕmbah mĕnyĕrahkan diri-nya,
Bĕrkat buat nasi dan uap-uap
Buboh dĕkat dapor ini,
Atau ĕnche'-ĕnche' ingat baik-baik!

And if possible, it is better to add the following:—

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
Friend of mine, Iblis! and all ye ghosts and devils
That love to trouble man!
I ask ye to go and enter the body of my beloved,
Burning her heart as this sand burns,
Fired with love for me.
Bring her to yield herself to me!
By virtue of this rice and steam
Place her here by my hearth
Or else take ye heed!

(13) *Sa-bagai lagi.*

Ambil pasir kaki pĕrĕmpuan yang di-kasehi itu, sĕrta tanah kubor jantan pĕrĕmpuan, dan miang rĕbong : buboh dalam bĕlanga buboh api, siang malam uap-uapkan. Inilah doa-nya :—

Bismi 'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi !
Aku goreng pasir kaki (si-anu) itu ;
Bukan aku goreng pasir kaki (si-anu) itu,
Aku mĕnggoreng mata hati jantong hawa nafsu (si-anu) itu,
Siang malam sapĕrti pasir ini tĕrgoreng.
" Kun," ka'a Allah,
" Fa yakun," kata Muhammad Rasulu'llah.
Panas miang batang tuboh (si-anu) itu
Tiada boleh sĕnang diam barang sa-saat,
Gila bĕrahi ka-pada aku.
" Fa yakun" kata Jibrail.
Hai (si-anu) mari-lah datang ka-pada aku,
Mĕnyĕrahkan diri
Bĕrkat Jin Mukal dan Malik Mikail,
Bĕrkat hantu Shaitan Iblis,
Dan bĕrkat doa, " La ilaha illa'llah Muhammad Rasulu'llah."

A similar charm.

Take sand from the foot-print of the woman loved, and earth from the grave of a man and a woman and itching hair-like filaments of bamboo ; put them in a cooking pot and steam night and day. This is the incantation :—

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate !
I fry sand from the foot-print of my beloved ;
Nay ! I fry her heart and liver
Night and day, as this sand is fried.
" Let it be " says God ;
" And it is so," says Muhammad His Apostle.
Let her body itch with desire
Giving her no rest from longing for me.
" And it is so," says Jibrail.
Come and give yourself to me, my beloved,
By virtue of the genie Mukal and Malik Mikail,
By virtue of ghosts, devils and Iblis,
And by virtue of the invocation, " There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Apostle."

(14) *Ini-lah doa pakaian pĕrĕmpuan.*

Tawarkan tiga kali pada ubat-ubat atau kunyit, minum, atau pada sireh tiga kapor lalu makan.

(*Minta-nya ĕmas tĕngah mayam, jarum, wang sa-tali*)
Ini-lah doa-nya :—

Bismi 'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi !
Rasa, rasa, rasa shurga Siti Fatimah :
Aku pakai pada diri-ku,
Mĕsĕra pada sĕgala ujud-ku ;
Rasa-ku masok dalam otak bĕnak
Tulang sĕndi urat (si-anu) ;
Lĕkat pada iman sĕndiri-nya,
Pĕnoh limpah pada mata hati jantong hawa nafsu-nya,
Tundok laih chinta kaseh (si-anu) ka-pada aku,
Siang malam tiada boleh suka pada pĕrĕmpuan yang lain.
Jika bĕrchĕrai Allah dĕngan Muhammad,
Dan bĕrgĕrak mayat di-dalam kubor,
Maka boleh-lah bĕrgĕrak mata hati jantong hawa nafsu (si-anu)
Suka pada pĕrĕmpuan yang lain.
Jika tiada bĕrchĕrai Allah dĕngan Muhammad,
Dan tiada bĕrgĕrak mayat di-dalam kubor,
Maka tiada-lah boleh bĕrgĕrak mata hati jantong hawa nafsu (si-anu)
Pada pĕrĕmpuan yang lain,
Hanya-lah tĕrbuka mata hati jantong hawa nafsu (si-anu)
Suka pada aku sa-orang sahaja,
Tiada boleh ka-mana-mana lagi :
Jodoh kĕkal dĕkat aku sampai mati,
Sapĕrti mayat dĕngan kubor.
Bĕrkat doa, "La ilaha illa'llah, Muhammad Rasulu-'llah."

This is an incantation to be used by a woman.

Recite it thrice over herbal drugs or saffron and drink the drugs ; or recite it over quids of betel and eat them.

The owner of it asked for ½ a *mayam* of gold, a needle, and 1 *tali* of money.

This is the incantation :—

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate !
Let me be clothed with the heavenly joys of Siti Fatimah !
Let them spread through my body !
Let pleasure in them enter the brains and limbs and bones and sinews of my lover,
Cleaving to him close as his religion,
Flooding his heart with passion,
Causing him to bow down and love me,
Caring for no other woman by night or day.

If Muhammad can be sundered from God
And a corpse move in the grave,
Only then shall my lover's desire move to another.
For the desire of his heart shall be only for me;
Straying nowhither he shall be my mate unto death,
Safe near me like a corpse in the grave.
By virtue of the invocation, "There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Apostle."

(15) *Ini-lah lagi doa pĕmanggil. Hĕndak-lah di-bacha tiga kali pada muka ayer, tatkala kita mandi*:—

Bismi 'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi!
Chahaya Allah pada tuboh-ku!
Mĕnaikkan manikam Muhammad pada tuboh-ku;
Mĕsĕra-lah hati (si-anu) itu ka-pada aku,
Sĕmbah sujud ka-pada aku,
Jangan sa-tara hati si-anu itu.
Alangkan gajah puteh di-sabĕrang laut
Lagi sujud mĕnyĕmbah ka-tapak kiri-ku!
Sah sidi pĕngajaran guru!
Sah sidi mustajab ka-pada aku!
Bĕrkat, "La ilaha illa'llah Muhammad Rasulu'llah."

This is another charm to call a lover. It should be recited thrice over the surface of the water, before the woman bathes.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
God's glory and the light of the Prophet be on my body!
Let the heart of my lover be wrapt up in me!
Let him kneel and bow before me!
Let him not stand an equal before me but subdued by love.
Does not even the white elephant from over the seas
Bow and do obeisance to the sole of my left foot?
May the teaching of my master avail
Avail and bring to pass my desire;
By virtue of invocation, "There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Apostle."

(16) *Sa-bagai lagi.*

Mahu di-bacha di-hadapan lilin sĕrta di-sĕbut nama kĕkaseh kita.

Hong tu! "Kun" kata Allah.
Tujoh darah mĕnggĕlĕgak di-dalam kubor
Kĕna guna Si-Hampar Panas.
Hai malaikat ĕmpat-puloh ĕmpat!
Aku pinjam ĕngkau;

Aku suroh ĕngkau pĕrgi ambil roh (si-anu) itu,
Bawa kaseh sayang ka-pada aku ;
Jika ia tidor, ĕngkau jagakan ;
Sudah ia jaga, ĕngkau dudokkan ;
Sudah dudok, ĕngkau dirikan !
Sudah bĕrdiri, ĕngkau rĕntok rĕntang,
Bawa kaseh sayang ka-pada aku.
Jikalau ia lupa nasi makan,
Lupa ka-pada aku ;
Jikalau ia lupa ayer minum,
Lupa ka-pada aku ;
Jikalau ia lupa kain di-pinggang,
Lupa ka-pada aku ;
Jikalau tiada lupa nasi makan,
Tiada-lah ia lupa ka-pada aku ;
Jikalau tiada lupa kain di-pinggang,
Tiada-lah ia lupa ka-pada aku siang dan malam,
Malam dan siang tiada lupa ka-pada aku.
Jikalau (ĕngkau) mam susu ibu,
Tiada lupa ka-pada aku.
Dĕngan bĕrkat mĕmakai doa
" *La ilaha illa'llah Muhammad Rasulu'llah !*

Another love charm.

It should be recited before a candle, the lover's name being mentioned.

Om! "Let it be," says God.
Seven kinds of blood boil even in the grave
When they feel my charm that brings hot love.
Angels forty and four!
I borrow ye to go and fetch my lover's spirit.
Bring him to love and long for me:
If he sleeps, awaken him!
When he wakes, let him sit!
Sit and then rise up!
And do ye tug and drag him to me!
Let him not forget me
Till he forgets rice to eat, and water to drink,
Till he forgets the cloth that is about his waist.
If he forget not his rice
Or the cloth that is about his waist,
Then shall he not forget me night or day.
Ah lover! if ever you fed at mother's breast,
You shall not forget me:
For I use the invocation, "There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Apostle."

(17) *Ini-lah ilmu duyong, nama-nya.*

Lambaikan sapu tangan sa-bĕlah matahari turun dan bacha tiga kali. Ini-lah doa-nya :—

Bismi 'llahi 'r-Rahmani 'r-Rahimi!
Hai doa-ku; doa duyong!
Aku duyongkan, gunong lagi runtoh;
Aku duyongkan, kayu lagi sĕrpeh;
Aku duyongkan, api lagi padam;
Aku duyongkan, ayer lagi surut;
Aku duyongkan, otak bĕnak (si-anu) itu akan chayer;
Bĕrkat aku mĕmakai doa duyong.
Lupa 'kan kain baju-nya (si-anu),
Baharu ia lupa 'kan aku;
Lupa 'kan sikat minyak
Baharu ia lupa 'kan aku;
Lupa 'kan tikar tĕmpat tidor,
Baharu ia lupa 'kan aku;
Lupa 'kan makan minum,
Baharu ia lupa 'kan aku;
Lupa ia akan Allah dan Muhammad,
Baharu ia lupa 'kan aku;
Bĕrkat aku mĕmakai doa duyong.
Aku duyongkan, otak rĕntĕgi hĕmpĕdu paru-paru (si-anu) akan chayer.
Barang di-makbulkan Allah!
Di-makbulkan Muhammad!
Di-makbulkan bagında Rasulu'llah;
Aku mĕngĕnakan doa duyong ka-pada (si-anu),
Sah sidi pĕngajaran guru,
Sidi mustajab ka-pada aku,
Bĕrkat "La ilaha illa 'llah Muhammad Rasulu'llah."

This is called the charm of the *duyong*:—

Wave a kerchief towards the setting sun and recite thrice—

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
Prayer of mine! Prayer of the *duyong*!
I use the *duyong* charm and mountains fall,
Timber chips, fire is quenched, water recedes,
And the brains of my beloved melt;
By virtue of my charm.
Only if she forgets her jacket and skirt,
Will she forget me;
If she forgets her comb and her oil,
Her mat whereon she sleeps, her food and drink,
If she forgets God and Muhammad,
Only then will she forget me;
By virtue of the charm I use.
I use it and her brains, gall, lungs melt.
God fulfil my prayer!
Muhammad Apostle of God fulfil it!
I use my charm against my beloved.

May the teaching of my master prevail,
Prevail and be efficacious,
By virtue of the invocation, "There is no God
but God and Muhammad is His Apostle."

XX. ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT OF PAHANG.

A Legend communicated by Haji Sam (of Menangkabau Descent) at Tĕmai.

By H. S. Sircom.

The first settlement in Pahang by Malays was made at Kuala Bĕra. To' Bĕntara Kanan of Johor met a Sakai at Ulu Muar who gave him a princess whom he had found in a bamboo (*buloh bĕtong*). To' Bĕntara Kanan fearing to take the princess to Johor, lest the Sultan should snatch her from him, wandered for three years in the jungle, and a child was born to him in the jungle. He then went to Bĕra and settled down and made a *kampong* and got three male children. Of these the eldest settled at Bukit Sa-Gumpal, the second at Tĕmĕrloh, and the youngest at Jĕlai: from the To' Bĕntara and his sons sprang all the Malay settlements in Pahang.

To' Bĕntara went from Kuala Bĕra to Pĕdah: at that place was a large *mahang* tree which was felled by his orders and in falling blocked the whole width of the Pahang river. This tree formed a dividing line; some of To' Bĕntara's descendants went upstream; they were the ancestors of To' Raja Jĕlai: others went downstream; they were the ancestors of To' Raja Jĕlai: others went downstream and founded other settlements. The stump of the felled *mahang* tree was so large that a meal for forty people could be served on it at one time (40 *hidang*).

The settlement of the lower reaches of the Pahang river was begun in this wise:—

Two sisters came from Johor to seek their relatives at Kuala Bĕra: one was detained by the *Rayat* (Sakai) at Pahang Tua (Pahang was then thickly populated with Sakai); the other sister was caught by the Sakai at Tĕmiang above Galong, and from this event date the settlements on the Kĕmap river (Luit).

From Luit later came To' Basir the great-grandfather of the present *Pĕnghulu* and founded the settlement of Tĕmai, the name of which is Sakai.

Al-marhum 'Che Koris, grandfather of the present Sultan (Ahmad) was the founder of Pekan: he came from Johor.

The settlement of Pulau Manis is so named because once there was an island there covered with *rumput manis*.

The authority for this history was To' Kasim, the grandfather of 'Che Lah the present Pĕnghulu of Tĕmai.

It is perhaps needless to add that the evidence of the

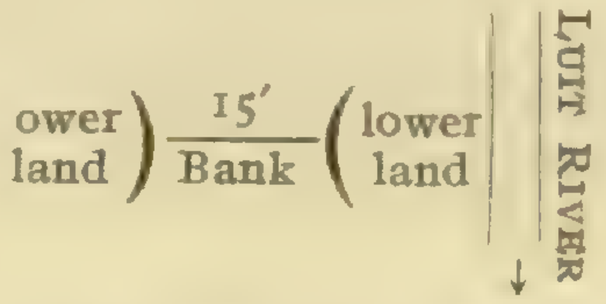
Sĕjarah Mĕlayu alone proves that there was Malacca Malay influence in Pahang as early as the 15th century. It would appear that the present legend relates to the Minangkaban settlement in Pahang, a portion of which formed one of the old Nĕgĕri Sembilan.

XXI. SIAMESE TRACES IN PAHANG.

By H. S. Sircom.

1. At Sabak on the Luit river are two circular pits cut into a bank one on either side. Dimensions :—

Depth : about 8 feet, 4 feet of which are filled with water.
Diameter at water's edge : about 9 feet.
Distance over bank between pits : about 15 feet.



These pits are said to be the places where Siamese did their cooking (? or sugar boiling), the pits having been hollowed out to receive cooking pots. The name of the place—Sabak—given on account of these pits.

No other details are supplied; no traces of mineral workings near. (Visited on 23-10-1911).

2. Some distance below Sabak is an area of several acres of lalang, and in it a pit (circular) about 6 feet in diameter, containing about 5 feet of water with an underground adit to the Luit river. The place is called "Padang Pĕrigi" and Siamese occupation is attributed to it. No other signs of habitation. (Visited on 23-10-1911).

3. Forest Ranger C. A. Speldewinde reports having visited a large clearing in the jungle on the middle waters of the Bebar, which is known as "Padang Siam."

XXII. KĚRAMAT IN LOWER PAHANG.

By H. S. Sircom.

1. At Galong (Luit) is a well-known *kĕramat* consisting of two large irregular-shaped stones about 9 feet apart.

They are supposed to mark the tomb of some holy man whose identity cannot be traced.

There is a legend that people who lose their way in the jungle near this *kĕramat* always come to the tomb, where they find sugar-cane ready cut to refresh them.

2. At Sĕribut on the left bank of the Rompin a little below Kuala Kratong is a mound on a hill; on the mound are two stones about 16 feet apart; near it is a smaller mound with stones about a man's height apart.

These are said to be the tombstones respectively of a Sayid, one of seven brothers (of whom the man buried at Galong is one) and of a disciple of his.

The tombstones are said to have removed themselves about 70 years ago from Kuala Aur, their original position; the reason given being that the Sayid did not like the disturbance created by the marriages and births among the increasing population at Kuala Aur.

3. At Tĕmai (right bank of Pahang) is a tombstone (*batu Acheh*) with carving; it is said to have been inscribed once with the name of Sayid Bakar, but no trace of the inscription now remains. Haji Sam says that this tomb is older than the kampong of Tĕmai.

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XXIII. A GRAVE AND MEGALITHS IN NEGRI SEMBILAN WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SOME EXCAVATIONS.

(Plates II—XI.)

By IVOR H. N. EVANS.

The ancient monuments at Pengkalan Kempas, Linggi, Negri Sembilan, collectively called Kĕramat Sungai Udang, have been known to Europeans for a considerabie time, though I believe that no detailed description of them has yet been published. They stand in a small valley or depression between two ridges and only a few chains distant from the Sungai Udang (Prawn River).

The local Malays are full of stories about the monuments but, on questioning the older men, it is found that the truth is that they were discovered in the jungle only some two or three generations ago and that the stories are therefore of quite recent date. Nowadays the jungle has disappeared and the small reserve, in which the remains are enclosed, is surrounded by Chinese and Malay rubber holdings.

The work of excavating and restoring the monuments as far as possible, some of which had suffered from ill-treatment, accidental or otherwise; from natural decay; or had fallen down owing to subsidence of the soil, was begun by me towards the end of July, and finished about the middle of October, 1919. After some clearing work had been done, but before any of the stones had been moved or excavations proper begun, a survey of the whole site was made by Mr. W. A. Wallace of the Federated Malay States Surveys. His plans and notes are published in this Journal and are those referred to in this paper.

The chief remains at Kĕramat Sungai Udang are a Mohamedan tomb, an inscribed pillar and a group of carved granite monoliths with a platform in front of them. The Mohamedan tomb is, in some ways, the less interesting of the structures as it is possible to date it accurately; the granite monoliths the more interesting since their age is problematical.

The grave is an object of veneration both to Malays and Chinese, and to a certain extent to Tamils. The Malays and Chinese make and pay vows there; the former holding feasts (*kĕnduri*), at which *pulut kunyet* [1] figures prominently, when-

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[1] Glutinous rice dyed with turmeric.

ever the *Dato'* of the *Keramat* [1] has granted their requests; the latter firing crackers, making offerings of fowls—subsequently taken away for consumption at home—and of spirituous liquors, of which the Mohamedan *Dato'* surely cannot approve, and being only restrained from offering pork by the interdiction of the local Malays; furthermore they defile the monument by burning candles, joss-sticks and "paper money"—the variety with which the Chinese placate spirits and the ghosts of the departed—in every available crack and crevice. The grave has been protected for many years by a palm-leaf roof.

To return however to the granite monoliths: the main group of these consists of three uprights [2] with three dressed blocks of laterite [3] placed on the ground in front of them. The uprights have been given fanciful names by the Malays: one, a long, tapering, sculptured flake of granite is said to be the sword (*Pĕdang*) or *Kĕris* of the Saint of the *Kĕramat*, the second his spoon (*Sudu*), and the third the rudder (*Kĕmudi*) of the ship in which he arrived in the country. In addition to these there is also a large turtle-back of granite [4] lying rather to one side, and two smaller granite uprights (Nos. 103 & 104, plan 3), one of which may perhaps have been roughly dressed. The *Sudu* was accidentally broken into two pieces some years ago by a falling tree (Nos. 93 and 101 in plan). I was able however to make a fairly good restoration of the stone. The same cause, too, was probably responsible for the fracture of a small granite monolith which originally stood within the outermost course of stones surrounding the grave. The base of this was discovered buried in its original position,[5] and the larger portion of the stone has now been joined to it and erected as it originally stood.

The turtle-back (102), to which I have referred above, was found lying, flat side up, as shown in the plan, but I turned it over and had it placed as nearly as possible in the position in which it had formerly been, to one side of, and rather behind the *Kĕmudi* (94), as shown in a photograph taken some year previous to my visit.

The blocks forming the platform in front of the three main uprights are all of laterite, and number three, not four, as in the plan The inaccuracy is due to the fact that one of them (100) had been much broken, and looked, in the state in which it was found, as if it was really two distinct blocks. Mr. Wallace indicated, however, that he was not sure of the number and form of the blocks of part of the platform by means of dotted lines. The shapes of several of the stones comprising

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[1] Spirit of the sacred place.
[2] Nos. 92, 101, & 93, 94, in Mr. Wallace's plan No. 3, postea.
[3] Nos. 98, 99, 100 in plan.
[4] No. 102.
[5] Close to No. 144, also a granite monolith.

the group are, to say the least of it, remarkable and it seems possible that the *Kĕris* (92) may be a conventionalised *phallus*, while the *Sudu* (101 & 93) may, perhaps, be a representation of the *yoni*.

Of the platform blocks, two are rectangular (99 & 100), one being almost square; the third block is a rough hexagon. It is worthy of note that several of the granite monoliths show notchings, ribbings, or crenulations at their edges, numbers 92 and 94 affording good examples of ribbing, while the turtle-back (102) is crenulate at one edge.

The sculptured designs which stand out in somewhat low relief on the *Kĕmudi* (94) and the *Pĕdang* (92) are extremely interesting. Those on the former appear to be chiefly zoomorphic grotesques. At the bottom of the designs on the *Kĕmudi* can be distinguished an animal which appears to be meant for a horse or pony, while just above it is another zoomorph, seemingly a bird, the legs of which are however prolonged, one passing downwards and bending under the feet of the "horse" to end finally in a club-shaped appendage behind that animal's tail, the other curving upwards to form a similar club-shaped object behind the "bird's" body. It seems not impossible that the bird may be a crude representation of a peacock since the head bears a projection which is, perhaps, the peacock's crest, while the club-shaped appendage behind it may be meant for its tail. The discoidal object, too, in the centre of the stone is extremely interesting as it may possibly show that the constructors of the monument were sun-worshippers or moon worshippers.[1]

The rest of the designs in relief may be, as I am inclined to think that they are, highly conventionalised plumes of feathers, or possibly phyllomorphic grotesques.

I have yet omitted to mention the very curious projection on the left of the stone; this appears to be the conventionalised head of an animal of some kind. The curly barbule under the chin is a most peculiar feature of the sculpture.

To pass now to the *Pĕdang* (92). There can, I think, be no doubt at all that the lowest object represented on this is a dragon. The body, tail, head, and recurved horns are all distinctly marked, and the snout of the animal projects between the ribbings at the edge of the stone.

The other sculptured objects on the stone are much more problematical; that directly above the dragon is, I am pretty sure, an animal grotesque of some kind: looked at in one light it appears to be a buffalo's head with ears, nose, eyes and mouth fairly plainly defined; in another, part of it appears

[1] Mr. E. E. W. G. Schröder tells me that he considers that the stone monuments of Nias are connected with moon-worship, not with sun-worship.

to represent a bird with outspread wings, recurved and retracted legs, and a long tail bent somewhat to one side.[1] Above this carving are representations of three discoidal objects, set triangularly, the uppermost being a plain disc, like that on the *Kĕmudi*, to which I have already referred. The lower two, which form a pair, have each a curved line running from their outer edges to near their centres. Next above the uppermost disc comes a bowed dividing ridge in relief, and above this again the word "Allah" in Arabic character, and standing out in relief. After this the stone tapers to its curiously shaped head which can be well seen in the illustration.

I have already put forward, with some diffidence, the view that the *Pĕdang* may be a conventionalised *phallus*. If this is so, I would suggest that the portion of the stone above the inscription represents the *glans*, while the band, to which I have just referred, may be meant to represent the scar left by circumcision.[2] The whole group of stones, apart of course from the inscription, is absolutely foreign in design and spirit to the custom and teaching of Islam and there would appear to be fairly good reasons for considering the granite monoliths to be of older date than the Mohamedan grave and possibly antecedent to the propagation of Islam in the Malay Peninsula. Only subsidiary stones to the granite monoliths are of laterite while, in the case of the Mohamedan grave, laterite, with the exception of four stones of *Batu Acheh* (a kind of sandstone brought from Achin), is the only material of the dressed blocks of which the structure is built. Furthermore two small granite monoliths, obviously absolutely unconnected with the grave, stand within the quadrangle of the outermost wall of laterite blocks and two others[3] just outside the aforesaid wall near one corner. Moreover one piece of granite, taken from the "older" remains, was discovered in the foundations of the outer wall on its down-hill side; and another, a discoidal granite flake, presumably dressed at the edges, while excavating the wall between the central block of the grave and the outer course or wall. I think, therefore, that the probabilities are that the builders of the Mohamedan tomb found the granite monoliths already in position—probably they were regarded with a considerable degree of reverence—and left them, in so far as possible, undisturbed even where they occurred on the site marked out for the tomb. A few pieces of granite—perhaps mere waste stuff from the

[1] Dr. Bosch, Director of the Antiquarian Survey of the Dutch East Indies, to whom I have shown a photograph of the *Pĕdang*, thinks that this peculiar carving may be a degenerate representation of the head of the *Kala* (a mythical animal) which is frequently found depicted on Javanese ruins of the Hindu period.

[2] There is reason for thinking that a form of circumcision may have been practised in the Peninsula before the advent of Mohamedanism.

[3] No. 107 and another stone not shown in the plan.

construction of the granite monuments—were however used in making the foundations of the tomb.

If the above assumptions are correct, we have still to account for the name of God which is carved upon the *Pĕdang*. It is extremely unlikely that the Arabic script or the Arabic word for God arrived in the Peninsula prior to the propagation of Mohamedanism. I would suggest, therefore, that the builders of the tomb, followers of the Prophet, made a compromise between their Islamic dislike of pagan monuments and sculptures and their native fear of, and reverence for pre-Mohamedan holy places, and that they carved the word "Allah" on the *Pĕdang*, in order to sanctify an infidel monument, for which, in spite of their religion, they, or the then inhabitants of the district, had still a considerable regard. This, at any rate, is the view taken by Wilkinson.[1]

The Mohamedanism of the Malays of the Peninsula at the present day is often but a thin veneer over older strata of Hinduism and animism, and it is common to find sacred spots, especially under large trees or near caves, which are obviously the holy places of animism, and not of Islam; but which, to get round a difficulty, are sometimes said to be *kĕramat Jin*—I presume *Jin Islam*, i.e. Mohamedan *Jin*[2]—in order to bestow some slight appearance of orthodoxy upon those who make or pay vows at them.

Similar instances of pagan sacred wells having been annexed by the early Christians and credited to some saint are, of course, well known in Europe.

What I have written above is one method of solving the problem, and the arguments for the inscription having been added to a pre-Mohamedan monument at a later date seem to me to be strengthened by the occurrence of granite monuments within the space occupied by the Mohamedan tomb.

Of other possible explanations there are two; one of these being that the granite monuments and the tomb are contemporaneous[3] and that the ornamentation of the former

[1] *Papers on Malay Subjects, Malay History*, p. 7. I certainly do not think that the inscription on the perforated pillar (*vide p.—infra*) was ever changed, as Wilkinson suggests. This pillar belongs to the Mohamedan grave, and an orthodox Mohamedan inscription surely might well be expected to be found upon it.

Another point which may be mentioned here is that Wilkinson says that "it is believed that this pillar (which has been much used for oaths and ordeals) will tighten round the arm of any man who is rash enough to swear falsely when in its power." I was not told anything about false oaths by the Malays, but was informed that the stone would retain the hand and arm of any person who had not been born in lawful wedlock. Several Malays whom I met at the *kĕramat* were afraid to insert their hands in the hole.

[2] There are said to be both *Jin Islam* and *Jin Kafir*, *i.e.* Mohamedan and heathen Jin.

[3] This is the view taken by R. O. Winstedt (Journ. Straits Branch Roy. Asiat. Soc. 1917, p. 173). He thinks it "possible that parts of the Saint's tomb were constructed locally, and that other parts, like the ornate so-called "sword," were brought from India, as we have seen was a common custom." It seems to me however, that it is much more likely that the

was produced when the people had been scarcely weaned at all (by Mohamedan missionaries) from the most pagan practices. In this case, of course, the word "Allah" would have been carved by the makers of the granite monoliths, and it must in fairness be said that an inspection of the characters, which stand out in relief, does not, to my mind, furnish any proof that it is not contemporaneous with the designs on the stone.

In order to make it of later date than the carvings it is necessary to imagine that the part of the stone now occupied by the name of God formerly stood at a higher level than the ribbings which fringe the edges of the stone, and that this except for the lettering was subsequently cut away to its present level. The explanation is not very satisfactory, for, as I have mentioned above, the inscription shows no signs of having been added afterwards.

The third possibility—also not very satisfying—is that the granite monuments are older than the grave, but not older than the introduction of the religion of Islam into the Peninsula, and that the word "Allah" was carved upon the stone, at the same time as the other ornamentation, by a people who, though nominally Mohamedans, were, in fact, still pagan at heart.[1] The period, however, between the conversion of the first Moslem king of Malacca and the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah, in whose time the Mohamedan tomb was erected, is not long. Sultan Mohamed Shah, the first sovereign of Malacca to accept Mohamedanism, ascended the throne somewhat before the year A.D. 1403, and was recognised by the Chinese Emperor in A.D. 1405. Sultan Mansur Shah came to the throne about A.D. 1459.[2] How long the Malays in general, if they did so, had accepted Mohamedanism before the conversion of Sultan Mansur Shah, it seems impossible to say.

Of the other granite monuments yet undescribed, the most remarkable are probably a large flat and almost circular object (95) which is sometimes called the Saint's Shield (*Pĕrisai*) and a small group of stones at the extreme edge of the *Kĕramat* reserve, where it now abuts on a Chinese rubber plantation. The *Pĕrisai* is chiefly noteworthy for the geometric designs in low relief on one surface. The top of the stone is marked by a small somewhat stalk-like projection; below this comes a pattern which is common in Malay designs, and the rest of the face of the stone is, as may be seen in the

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"sword," which is of granite containing large crystals of feldspar, a type of rock found in the Peninsula, was made locally. The sandstone of the pillar (*Batu Acheh*) is, I believe, not found in the country.

[1] Thus we might account both for the name of God and the carvings on the *Pĕdang* appearing to be of the same date, and also for the occurrence of unrelated granite stones within the enclosure of the Mohamedan tomb.

[2] *Papers on Malay Subjects, Malay History*, pp. 22 and 24.

illustration, ornamented with the type of design already alluded to.

The group of stones near the Chinese rubber plantation, when found, was in a very ruinous condition. The most important members of it are a long flake of granite, a squared block of laterite and a round stone, also of laterite. The granite flake had, as I was told by the local residents, originally stood upright between the two laterite stones and, when we discovered it, though fallen down one end was still resting between them. It appears that this monument, also, had been broken by a falling tree, but further damage had been done subsequently by a Chinese washerman who had broken off pieces from the upper end of the granite flake, and used them for supports for his cauldron. The Malays told me, with considerable glee, that the offender's wife had died not long afterwards, and that the washerman himself had encountered other misfortunes—all of which they ascribed to his sacrilegious act—and finally ran away. At the time of my visit, however, a brother tradesman had taken his place, and was still using the old stand for his cauldron.

Having persuaded this man to move his pitch, we discovered several pieces of the granite monolith on the old site of his operations, but, unfortunately, several of them had become friable and lost their original edges owing to the constant heating which they had undergone. Nevetheless we were lucky enough to find the top of the monolith and to be able to establish a join with the major portion.

Partly below the squared laterite block, already mentioned, is another seemingly undressed slab of the same material, the two blocks thus forming a couple of steps.

The spherical laterite stone has a curious somewhat horseshoe-shaped object sculptured on it in relief; the convex side of the granite upright, too, appears to have had a similar design depicted upon it, but it is much weathered. These two objects are particularly interesting in view of the possible phallic origin of the *Pĕdang*. It is possible, moreover, that, judging by its shape, the granite upright of this small group may also be meant for a rude representation of phallus.

Of the yet undescribed granite objects there remain only a few to be dealt with. Three of these are loose and have no certain location, but I found them lying in front of the Mohamedan grave. What any of them represent it is extremely difficult to say, though they have all three been shaped, and in the case of two a little carving has been added, on one in the shape of some notchings and a slight design of patterns, on the other notchings only. These details are well shown in the illustration (Pl. IX).

I have already referred to a small granite monolith, which had been broken, but of which we found the base while excavating the walk round the grave, which is bounded by the

outermost row of stones.[1] This, like several of the other stones, is crenulate at the edges and has, furthermore, a couple of small spur-like projections, one on either side. In addition to this, and standing near it, is a somewhat larger monolith (44), also with crenulate edges and having some slight scrollings on one side, these being in connection with the crenulations. The two monuments appear to have been left undisturbed by the builders of the Mohamedan tomb.

Outside the course of stones which bounds the grave are a few other, mostly rather unimportant, dressed, or dressed and carved, granite stones. Only one of these, a plain and short dressed post of stone (107), is shown on the plan, but there is also a small, somewhat shield-shaped upright adjacent to it, and abut in front of stone 75. Outside the outer course of the tomb, too, and just outside block 77 we found a curiously carved stone, which looks almost as if it may be a conventional representation of a turtle.

To turn now to the excavation which I made, and the restorations that I attempted in connection with the granite monoliths.

The most important piece of work was the treatment of the group of stones comprising the *Pĕdang* (or *Keris*), the *Sudu*, the *Kĕmudi* and other elements. I have already remarked that all the monuments stand in a sort of little valley or depression between two ridges. The large group of granite monoliths, being nearer to the middle line of the valley than the Mohamedan tomb, is on swampy ground, while the tomb is kept dry by the fact that it rests partly on the foot of the adjacent ridge, partly on artificially banked-up ground.

When I arrived at Pĕngkalan Kĕmpas, I found that, with the exception of the few granite objects in the immediate vicinity of the tomb and the small group near the rubber plantations, all the granite monuments had been overwhelmed by scrubby jungle and undergrowth, the land on which they stood being either actually under water, or very swampy. The first steps, therefore, were to clear away the jungle undergrowth and to put in ditches to carry off the water.

The clearing of the ground took several days, and some difficulty was encountered in dealing with a patch of *asam kĕlubi* (*Zalacca conferta*) the thorns of which caused the coolies much annoyance by constantly getting into their hands and feet, while a large banyan-tree, the roots of which had split the block of laterite forming the platform in front of the *Pĕdang* and had even penetrated the centre of the Mohamedan tomb, also gave us considerable trouble.

Having cleared the ground, I found a small and almost choked watercourse running along the bottom of the little valley, so I had a temporary ditch which we afterwards

[1] Page. . . .

replaced by a properly graded larger one, put in along this line to carry off some of the water. When this had been done I had two tributary ditches driven from near the side of the tomb to the main ditch, so as to enclose the *Pĕdang* and the other large monoliths of the group between them. Next, the ground having become sufficiently dry, the soil surrounding the monoliths was excavated, so as to leave them standing on only a small island. The material thus removed consisted of about a foot of humus followed by rather more than the same amount of white sand, under which again was a more or less peaty stratum, about five or six inches deep, which contained twigs, leaves and branches of trees. This peaty layer was in turn succeeded by a dark greyish clay.

When overhead tackle had been got into position for lifting the monoliths, so that they might be placed on a cement raft, I decided to do the work bit by bit and to deal with the lower part of the *Sudu* [1] first. Having secured it firmly, ready for hoisting, I had the surrounding soil cleared away and found that its lower end was sunk in the ground to a depth of two feet only. The base of the *Pĕdang* proved to be even less deeply embedded as it only reached a depth of 1½ foot.

As these two monoliths were the most deeply set in the ground, if any, we may take them into consideration when determining the horizon of the land surface at the time when these monuments were erected. I have remarked that the present accumulation of humus with the white sand amounts to a little over two feet while the bases of none of the monuments reach a greater depth than this. I am inclined to think that the top of the white sand was probably the surface of the soil at the time when the megaliths were set up unless some intervening layers were denuded in the period, if any, between the construction of the megalithic group and the deposition of the present humus.

The view that the layer of sand, or the top of it, was the ancient land surface is supported by the fact that it contains numerous small fragments of charcoal, and in it were found the only objects of interest that we discovered while making our excavation around the group of monoliths.

These comprised four small button-shaped objects of blue glass—one of them opaque, the other three transparent—a piece of greenish-grey céladon-ware, slightly ribbed on its convex or outer side, which looks as if it had been a part of a cup [2]; and a lid, somewhat like that of a small teapot, of which the decoration is in under-glaze painting in a dark

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[1] The top part, it will be remembered, had been broken off. There were thus two portions (Nos. 93 & 101).

[2] This grey ware, according to Sir Hercules Read, who has inspected some of the fragments of pottery, may, perhaps, have been made at Sawankhalok in Siam.

blackish-blue on a white surface. The designs are a set of six alternating sepals around the small knob at top of the lid and a sort of debased key-pattern near the edge. This piece of pottery is obviously Chinese. Another interesting specimen which was found is a little oval black stone of a similar nature to that which was formerly used for making stone implements. This is convex above, probably partly naturally rounded by river-action, but has been artificially flattened by rubbing below. I would suggest that this was used either as sharpening-stone for small metal tools, or as a touch-stone.

Before I deal in detail with the re-erection of the monoliths and the measures taken to preserve them, or make any observations connected with their signification and, if possible, former use, I may as well refer here to the other objects found during our excavations, except those which can be definitely connected with the Mohamedan tomb.

One or two objects were discovered when making the ditch down the centre of the valley; they comprise some pieces of very rough pottery—not Chinese—which contain much grit, owing presumably to the clay of which they were made being of bad quality and never having been cleaned. Their colour is grey with occasional red streaks. The other objects found in this ditch were the remains of three posts still *in situ*, their ends, which had been sharpened and hardened by burning, being embedded in soil $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet below present ground level.

In a tributary to the main ditch which was dug in order to drain some of the marshy land towards the southern end of the *Kĕramat* reserve we came across a few other interesting objects, a small silver coin,[1] two small pieces of a céladon bowl, the lower part of a small blue-and-white dish, and portions of two blue-and-white cups or small bowls. All this pottery was obviously Chinese, the blue and white ware and probably the céladon as well, being of the Ming period. The céladon-ware is remarkable for its beauty. The glaze is a translucent apple-green and is crackled, while the body of the vessel has been decorated with incised foliate designs before the application of the glaze.[2]

I have yet omitted to mention that while making excavations near the small group of monoliths at the edge of the Chinese rubber plantation we encountered the end of another post, and a piece of greyish-green crackled céladon was discovered built into the foundations for the washerman's copper. To proceed now to the description of the reconstructional work done:—

The group of stones containing the *Kĕmudi*, the *Pĕdang*

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[1] This is very much rubbed, and though remains of an inscription can be seen, it will probably be impossible to identify it.

[2] Sir Hercules Read believes that this green céladon-ware is of the early Ming period (14th or 15th century).

and the *Sudu* was placed on a concrete raft. Few changes were made in the position of the stones: the *Kĕmudi* was raised from its recumbent position and set so as to stand at right angles to the line formed by the *Pĕdang* and the *Sudu*, this being, as far as it is possible to tell, as it stood originally; while the turtle-back (102), which was found lying flat side uppermost, was turned over and placed in position somewhat behind the *Kĕmudi*. These, with the exception of planting perpendicularly the *Pĕdang* which was leaning at an angle and a slight straightening up of stones 92 and 104, were the only changes made.

Excavation of the site revealed four large undressed blocks of laterite underlying the largest stone of the platform, that in front of the *Pĕdang*, and smaller blocks under stones 99 and 98. These were replaced as found. Furthermore pieces of laterite, seemingly placed there with a view to keeping the large perpendicular megaliths in position, were found behind the bases of the *Pĕdang*, the *Sudu* and the *Kĕmudi*.[1]

With regard to the small group of stones near the boundary of the Chinese rubber plantation, these objects were placed on a concrete platform. The granite flake, which had fallen over, was set up perpendicularly, and such pieces of its upper end as we could fit re-joined to it. Luckily the top of the flake was found near the washerman's cauldron, and a join secured, though some portions of the stone were not discovered, this necessitating a somewhat free use of cement, so as to secure the monument against damage in the future.

In addition to the stones already described, three outlying blocks of granite (Nos. 3, 4 and 5 on the plan of the reserve) were discovered by sounding the ground with an iron rod, and also a small heap of material, laterite and granite pieces (9). The three blocks just referred to were natural boulders of granite while the heap of stones contained a piece of granite which had apparently been a part of some monument, since some carving in relief—though it was not possible to identify the object depicted—could be discerned on it.

To turn now to the Mohamedan tomb. This consists of an outer course of squared stones surrounding an inner structure built of much larger blocks of the same material.[2] At one end, between the outer wall or course and the inner block, is a squared pillar of sandstone (*Batu Acheh*) which has a hole through it and bears on its four faces four inscriptions, two in Arabic character, two in some script which has not yet been identified. The two inscriptions in the unknown

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[1] Several of these pieces of laterite were placed in these positions a few years ago to support the larger stones. C. Boden Kloss.

[2] Mention may here be made of a curious little platform, consisting of two blocks of laterite, which projects from the outer course of stones on the side facing the *Sudu*. The larger stone of this platform (96) rests on a cylindrical pillow-stone of the same material.

language are shorter than those in the Arabic lettering and fill the spaces, one on either side, above the two openings of the hole.

The Arabic inscriptions, except for an orthodox Mohamedan invocation at the beginning of each, are in part difficult to read; but it appears to be clear from those parts of them which it has been possible to decipher that the tomb is that of one Sheikh Ahmad [1] who died in A.H. 872 (A.D. 1467/8) in the time of Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca [2] (A.D. 1459–A.D. 1475).[3] Malacca was taken by the Portuguese under Albuquerque in A.D. 1511, in the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah, and between Sultan Mansur Shah and Sultan Mahmud Shah came Alaedin Riayat Shah I.

I have already referred to the inner part of the tomb. This as will be seen on referring to the plan consists of an outer and an inner enclosure, both of them rectangular, and both constructed of very large and heavy blocks of laterite. The inner chamber is the grave proper, and at its foot there is a capstone [4] of *Batu Acheh* (2) above a laterite block, which on its outer face has an Arabic inscription within a circle. This is much worn and I have, as yet, been able to read nothing though it is said that a date was to be deciphered on it not many years ago.

At the head of the grave there is a laterite block (No. 3) the top of which has been rounded to resemble the *Batu Acheh* capstone referred to above. This stone also bears a circle on its outer, and another on its inner, surface, these corresponding in position to those on the capstone. Neither of them now contains any inscription.

Spanning the space between the inner and outer walls of the central block of the tomb, on its two longer sides are six remarkable stones, three on each side. There are two pairs of uprights (Nos. 4, 5, 6 & 7) and two blocks which lie between them (Nos. 13 & 18). The two pairs of uprights differ somewhat in shape and size and there are some slight differences between the two horizontal blocks (13 & 18), one of them being rectangular in section and having a vertical band in relief about four inches wide running from top to bottom in the middle on its inner side, while the other stone has its lower inner edge trimmed away, and a horizontal band in relief on its inner side which divides the stone into about two equal

---

[1] "*Makam Sheikh Ahmad*" (the tomb of Sheikh Ahmad).

[2] "*Pada zaman Sultan Shah Mansur*" (in the time of Sultan Mansur Shah). My thanks are due to Mr. J. P. Moquette of the Batavian Society's Museum for making out a large part.

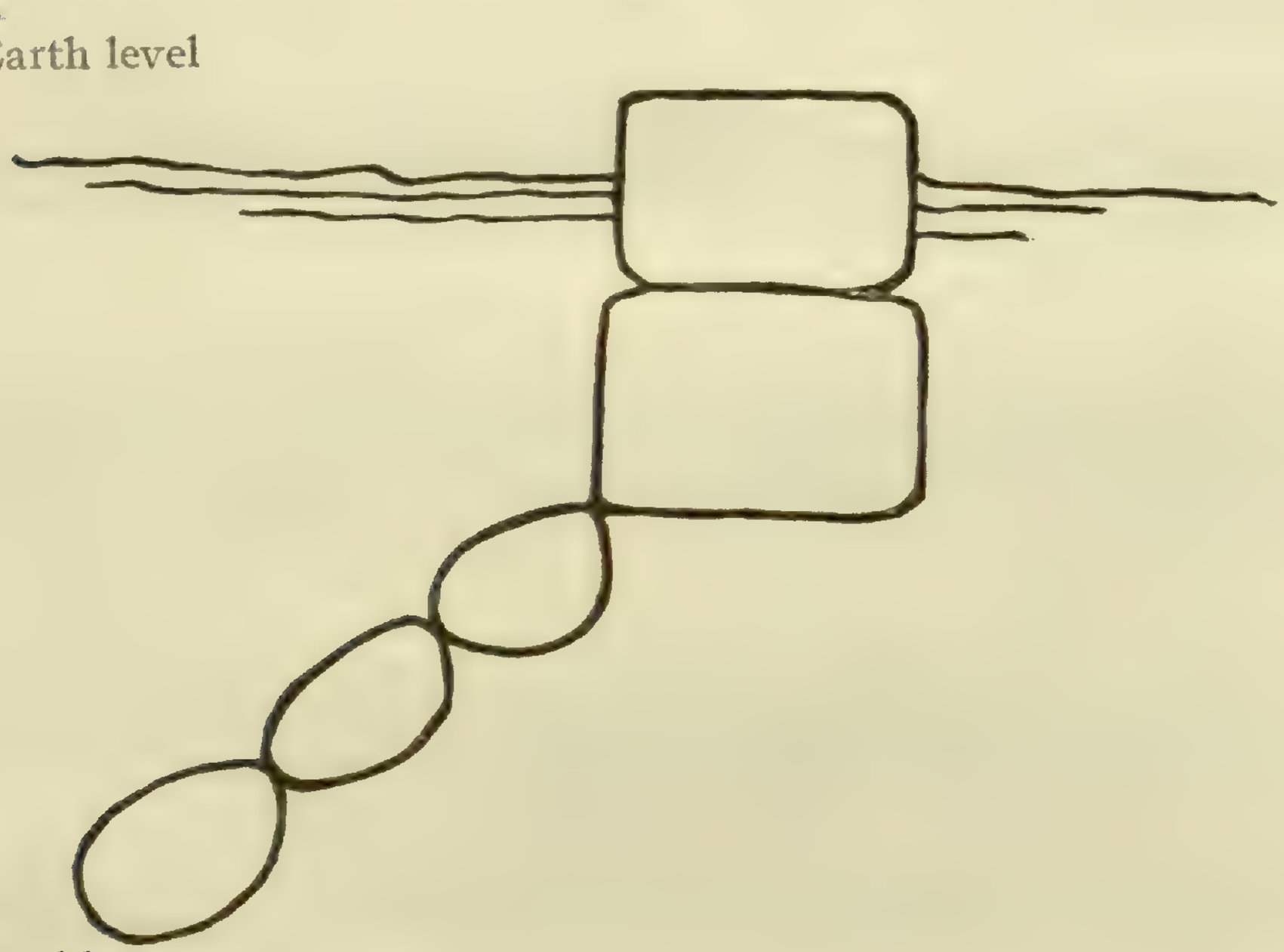
[3] R O. Winstedt tom. cit. supra, p. 172.

[4] Presumably this is an inscribed stone to which Wilkinson refers in his *Malay History*. He says, "Near this pillar (i.e. the perforated stone) is another cut stone on which the lettering of some old non-Arabic inscription can be dimly seen," but as far as I have been able to make out the inscription seems to be undoubtedly in the Arabic character.

portions, a vertical band of the same size running from the centre of the top edge of the stone to join the horizontal band but not being continued below it.

I will now describe the reconstructional work done and refer to certain interesting objects which were found in the course of the excavations:—

The grave is built at the foot of a small hill, one of its longer sides lying towards the swampy ground which I have mentioned previously. The first step taken was to clear away the earth round the outer edging of stones. On this being done it was found that the edge of the structure consisted of two courses of squared laterite blocks, one superimposed on the other, the blocks of the lower layer being the largest. On the side directly below the hill and at the two ends of the structure this outer wall was reinforced by a row of laterite boulders placed exteriorly against the lower course of stones and against the earth which supported it. This feature was very much more marked on the side facing the swamp. Here the lower course of stones and the earth below it had been banked up with very large boulders[1] thus:—



As far as I could ascertain, a part of the foot of the hill seems to have been cut away by the people who built the grave and a piece of made ground added on the down side to

[1] This method of using boulders to retain the earth of banks or to reinforce the foundations of walls is in common use throughout Java to-day. The stones are, however, exposed and not covered with soil as in the instance mentioned here. C. Boden Kloss.

the small platform thus created, the whole space being just large enough to receive the tomb.

When the foundations of the tomb, if they may so be called, had been exposed and the earth on the inner side of the wall cleared away, the squared stones and also the undressed boulders were taken up and relaid, being firmly bound together with cement and, in the case of the squared blocks, placed on a concrete foundation. The next step was to deal with the inner and outer walls of the tomb proper, and here some opposition might have been encountered on the part of the local Malays who were working as coolies for me, but a *kĕnduri* (feast) before starting work smoothed the way; and the only stipulations made by the local Imam (priest), who was employed as my headman, were that the headstone of the grave should not be moved and that the earth in the central compartment, where presumably Sheikh Ahmad's body lies,[1] should be disturbed as little as possible when moving the large blocks of stone at the sides. These large stones, both of the inner and outer wall of the central part of the tomb, were lifted and placed on a concrete foundation six inches in thickness.

The spaces between the inner and outer walls of the central block were filled with earth as, of course, was also the central chamber. Some subsidence of the contents of the latter had caused the inner row of blocks to cant inwards, especially when they were in contact with the heavy uprights (Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7) and the two horizontal blocks between the uprights (Nos. 13 and 18). The uprights and the stones between them, too, had followed this subsidence, and had therefore become tilted towards the central compartment of the grave. The inner wall of the central block of the grave is some few inches higher than the outer and it thus became apparent that the uprights must have stood on the earth between the two walls, impinging slightly on the outer and lower wall, but not on the inner. They were thus set up perpendicularly in this position on a thick block of cement which took the place of the earth removed.

It is scarcely needful to say that no cement or plaster of any kind was originally used in the construction of the tomb. In making the restoration, however, I considered it necessary for the preservation of the monument to bind all the stones together, filling the crevices between them, which hitherto had only contained earth, with concrete and covering this with a coating of cement mixed with sand. During the excavation of the earth between the inner and outer walls of the central block we came upon three interesting objects. One of these was a blue-and-white porcelain, crackled Ming

[1] Any remains must, long ago, have been destroyed by termites. The whole structure was riddled with their nests at the time of my visit.

dynasty bowl with floral ornamentation. This was discovered just underneath the laterite block (18) which lies between the two uprights, Nos. 7 and 8. It was embedded right-side-up and, besides earth, contained a number of little water-worn quartz pebbles; but whether these were placed there intentionally or not I am not quite certain, as similar stones occurred in the surrounding soil though not in such numbers as in the earth in the bowl. This piece of porcelain must have been whole; but got broken when the stone above it was shifted. It had evidently been placed in position and was not merely a piece of crockery which had been thrown away. The second object discovered was the greater part, in pieces, of a low and rather pot-bellied Chinese vessel with a wide mouth. This is not of porcelain; but of a fine grained yellowish clay. It is covered with a thin and flaky ivory-like glaze and has some underglaze patterns in rather dark blue. These designs are typically Chinese.

The third object was discovered at the head of the tomb between stones 27 and 3.[1] This is a curiously carved piece of sandstone some 35 cm. in length. It was placed against the headstone (3) and on the top of a small squared block of laterite. It is difficult to say with certainty what the carved stone is meant to represent; but I am inclined to think that it is a winged phallus, a most unorthodox object to place in the tomb of a Mohamedan holy-man.

The discovery of this peculiar stone much astonished the Malays who were working for me, and they were inclined to treat it with considerable reverence, so much so that when I, after some difficulty, pursuaded them to try to move it and one man had done so without result owing to its being firmly cemented to the headstone with that peculiar hardened earth which is found in nests of the termite, they announced that it "didn't want to move," and that they dared not make further attempt. Thus I had to do this, to their minds dangerous piece of work, myself. When I had moved the stone I found that there was a hole in the block of laterite on which it rested: this I probed and found that it extended downwards for about a foot, but what its purpose can have been I do not know. I was prevented from fully excavating and temporarily removing this stone by the superstitious fears of the Malays.

There seem to be some slight traces of mounds and ditches on the land enclosed in the reserve, and the lines of these, as far as they could be made out, may be traced in Mr. Wallace's smaller scale plan.

In addition to the remains already described, there is a curious grave with a laterite gravestone on a hill on the other

[1] The stone marked 41 in the plan is a loose block, evidently taken from elsewhere quite recently.

side of the road from the Mohamedan tomb and the granite monoliths (number 12 in the small-scale plan). The grave is surrounded by an edging of laterite blocks and its orientation is not that of a Mohamedan tomb.[1] Whether it is of the same age as the granite monoliths is problematical, but, as can be seen from the annexed rough sketches, it presents features which are strikingly similar to those of old Javanese gravestones of the Hindu period which are to be seen in the Museum at Batavia.[2] Possibly stones of this type are derived from the leaf of the *Ficus religiosa*, the shape of the leaf being very clearly defined in the case of certain backstones of Hindu sculptures from Java (*vide* plate XI.).[3]

A very small, loose, gravestone of somewhat similar type was found lying on the side of the hill which is directly above Sheik Ahmad's tomb. I removed this and placed it under cover of the roof over the *kĕramat*.

Before bringing this paper to a close it may, perhaps, be worth while to try and see if any comparisons can be made between the granite megaliths at Linggi and megalithic monuments occurring in neighbouring countries, or in those whose peoples have blood or other connections with the present or former inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula.

Megalithic monuments are found in Indonesia, as well in those regions of North-Eastern India which are so intimately connected with Indonesia and also with the Malay Peninsula. Alignments of stones and other megaliths are erected by the Khasis, the Nagas, the Mikirs, the Ho-Mundas and other tribes of N.E. India.[4] The Khasis set up stone monuments for the following purposes:—

(*a*) As seats for the spirits of the departed.
(*b*) To commemorate a parent or relation.
(*c*) To mark the position of tanks, the water of which is supposed to cleanse the ashes and bones of those who die unnatural deaths.
(*d*) As seats for weary travellers (flat stones).

Groups of stones of class *b* consist usually of 3, 5, 7 or 9 uprights with flat table-stones in front, the uprights being called male and the recumbent female stones.

In Nias standing stones are set up for the spirits of

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[1] This grave is, however, regarded as *kĕramat* by the Malays, though offerings are seldom made at it now. It is said that formerly, when Sheikh Ahmad's tomb was covered by jungle undergrowth and difficult to find, this was in great favour as it was easy of access from the river.

[2] The Javanese stones sketched are all in the Museum at Batavia.

[3] The silver fringes on Malay hangings are still called *daun budi*, because the pendants are more or less in the shape of the leaves of the *Ficus religiosa*, the *bohdi* (Skr.) or peepul tree.

[4] (*a*) *The Khasis.* By P. R. T. Gordon, 1914.
(*b*) *The History of Upper Assam.* By L. W. Shakespear, 1914.

ancestors to lean against and table-stones are placed for them to use as seats, though megaliths are erected for other purposes as well.[1] Some, but by no means all, of the Nias megaliths have a phallic significance.[2]

In British North Borneo, according to my own experience, the Dusuns sometimes place rows of stones outside villages, these being thought to act as a protection against disease; and similar guardian stones are also found among the Tinguians of the Philippine Islands.[3]

Megalithic monuments occur, too, in many other islands of the Indian Archipelago, and an account of them, in those parts of Indonesia where he thinks that no cultural influences associated with Brahmanism, Buddhism or Islam have penetrated, is to be found in W. F. Perry's *Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*.

This author considers that certain belief and customs are intimately connected with the immigrants who introduced the megalithic culture into N.E. India and Indonesia. Among these are several which are still found among the Malays or among the wild tribes of the Peninsula, such as a belief that stone implements are thunderbolts,[4] prohibitions against eating the flesh of certain animals,[5] and ideas that certain actions which are regarded as impious will be punished by disaster of particular kinds happening to the offenders. Stories about such incidents the author calls "punishment tales."

In the Peninsula I know of instances of these "punishment" beliefs among the Malays of Central Pahang, the Negritos of Perak, and the Sakai of South Perak. I tabulate the offences and the punishments which follow them below; more detailed information can be gathered from previous numbers of this *Journal*:—

Nationality.	*Nature of Offence.*	*Punishment.*
Malays.	Dressing up and laughing at a cat and dog.	Thunderstorms and village swallowed by earth.
Sakai.	(*a*) Burning jungle leeches in the cook-house fire.	Thunderstorms causing, most probably, the death of the offender.
		Among the Sungkai

[1] *Nias.* By E. E. W. G. Schröder, 1918.

[2] Phalli are carved on them.

[3] There is an illustration of a Tinguian man making an offering to some small guardian stones in *Customs of the World*, Vol. II, p. 658.

[4] Generally current among the Malays.

[5] Sakai women and children are prohibited, or will not eat the flesh of certain animals. That of the mousedeer and of the *Bërok* and *Këra* monkeys is commonly regarded as prohibited. The flesh of the white variety of the buffalo is regarded as *pantang* (tabu) by some Malays.

Nationality.	*Nature of Offence.*	*Punishment.*
	(*b*) Putting *malau* (stick-lac) into the fire.	Sakai it is related that the house of an offender against one of these tabus was struck by lightning and swallowed by the earth, hot springs arising on its site. His daughters were killed by a dragon, and this animal and the daughters' leaf dresses—the girls were probably eaten—have become stones. This is the only case of petrifaction for breaking a tabu that I have come across in the Malay States.
	(*c*) Teasing a monkey, or dressing it up like a man and laughing at its antics.	
	(*d*) Roasting an egg in the fire.	
	(*e*) Laughing at snakes or other animals.	
	(*f*) Imitating the notes of certain birds or the noise made by the cicada.	
Negritos.	(*a*) Copying the notes of, or killing, certain kinds of birds.	Thunderstorms, lightning and floods, involving the deaths of the offenders.
	(*b*) Sexual intercourse within the camp.	

There still remains to be discussed the object for which the granite monoliths were erected. It is interesting to note that the Mikirs set up standing stones and place flat slabs in front of them; for the *Pĕdang*, the *Sudu*, and the *Kĕmudi*, each have a slab placed on the ground in this position, while these large uprights are also three in number, as among the Mikirs, or, if we also take into account the two smaller stones (103 and 104), five, also a Mikir number. Excavation at the main group of monoliths produced no proof that they marked the site of a grave or graves; in fact rather the reverse, for the ground under the table-stones seemed never to have been disturbed previously. I am inclined therefore to think that the probabilities are in favour of the Linggi monoliths being either memorial stones (possibly for the use of the spirits of the departed) or guardian stones;—if they should be contemporaneous with the tomb, memorial stones. This, however, would denote a great confusion of beliefs, Mohamedan and pagan.

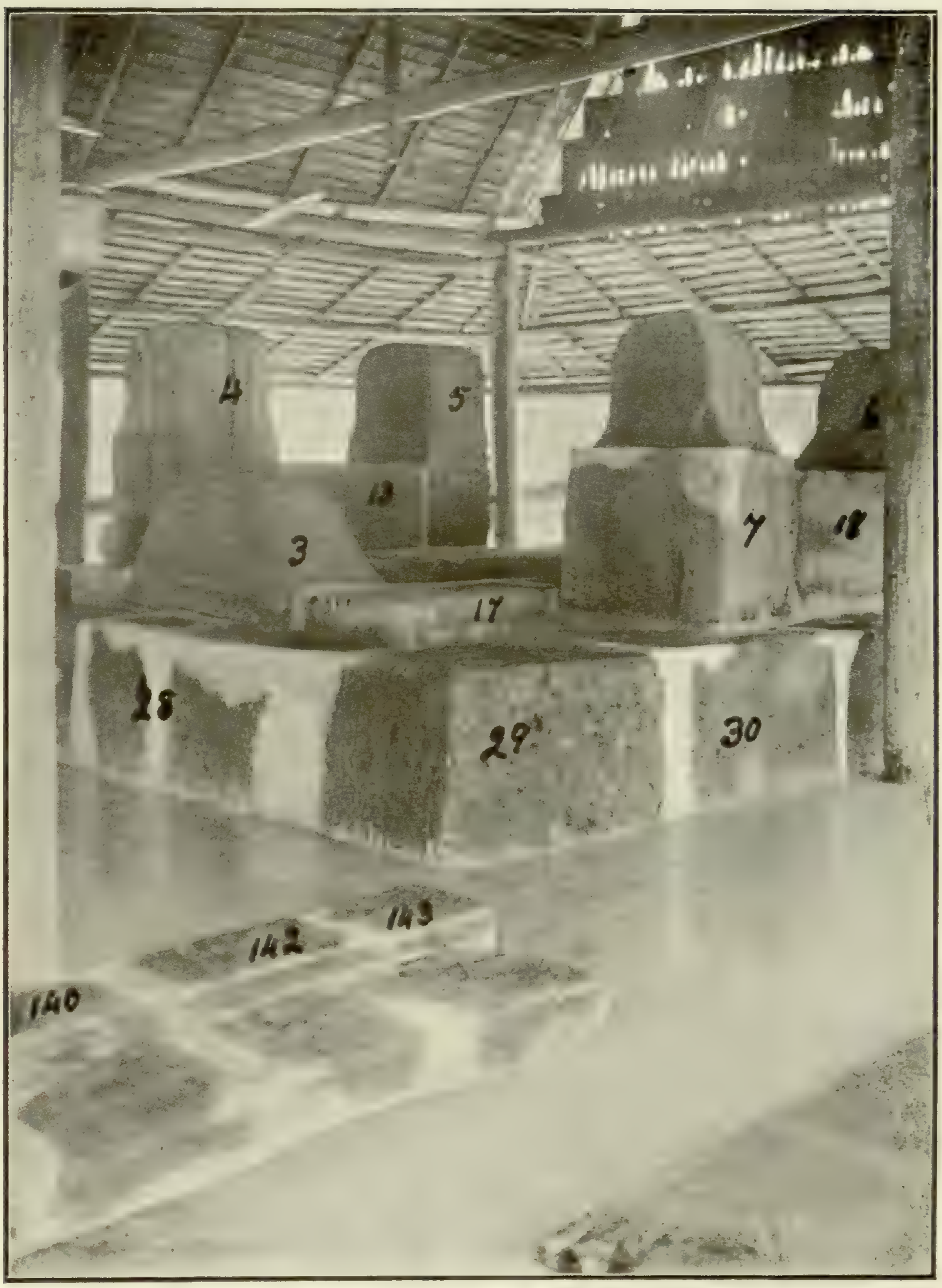
One other point is perhaps worth mentioning; and that is with regard to the blocks of stone which are placed under the flat slabs in front of the main group of monoliths. These may, of course, be merely for the purpose of preventing the slabs above from sinking into the ground, but it must be

remembered that the Khasis build small dolmens, and similar structures are found in Sumba.[1] The following is a description of a small but typical Khasi table-stone: "In front of the line of menhirs is a large flat table-stone resting on stone supports, the top of the uppermost plane being some 2 or 2½ feet from the ground; this flat stone is sometimes as much as a foot or more thick."[2] From this description it looks very much as if the flat stones in front of the Linggi uprights (menhirs) might be rather degenerate relations of the Khasi table-stones. In this connection it is particularly worthy of remark that four undressed boulders of laterite were found under the largest slab, i.e. that in front of the *Pĕdang*.

[1] *Vide* illustration in *Megalithic Monuments of Indonesia*, p. 15.
[2] *The Khasis*, p. 146.

C. BODEN KLOSS, PHOTO

TOMB WITH INSCRIBED PILLAR IN BACKGROUND BEFORE RESTORATION.



I. H. N. EVANS, PHOTO.

THE MOHAMEDAN TOMB AFTER RESTORATION.

C. BODEN KLOSS, PHOTO.

MONOLITHS AND PLATFORM BEFORE RESTORATION.
(KEMUDI TO LEFT, PEDANG AT CENTRE, SUDU TO RIGHT.)

H. C. ROBINSON, PHOTO.

"THE SWORD OF THE SAINT."

(PEDANG or KERIS: No. 92.)

I. H. N. EVANS, PHOTO.

"THE SHIELD OF THE SAINT."

(PERISAI: No. 95.)

I. H. N. EVANS, PHOTO.

THE *KEMUDI* or RUDDER: No. 94.

I. H. N. EVANS, PHOTO.

THE MAIN GROUP OF GRANITE MONOLITHS AT PENGKALAN KEMPAS AFTER RESTORATION.

C. BODEN KLOSS, PHOTO.

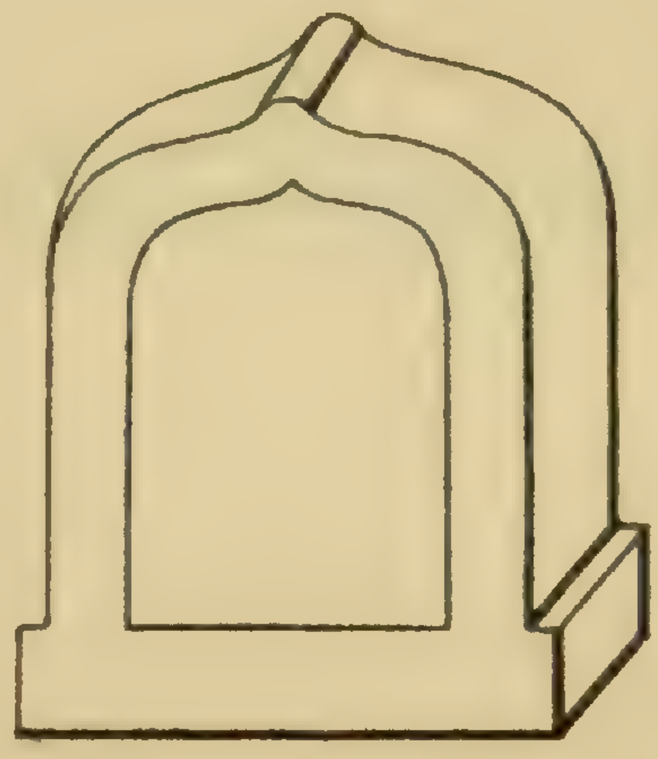
CARVED SHIELD-LIKE STONES.

(Nos. 106, 8, 9.)

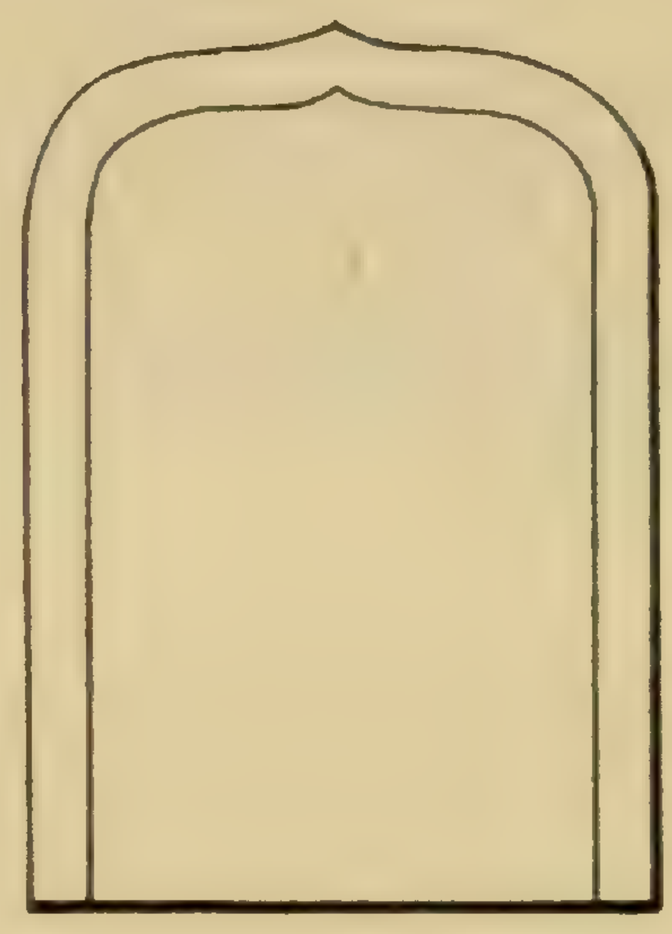
I. H. N. EVANS, PHOTO.

SMALL GRANITE UPRIGHT AND LATERITE BLOCKS AFTER RESTORATION (Nos. 130–3).

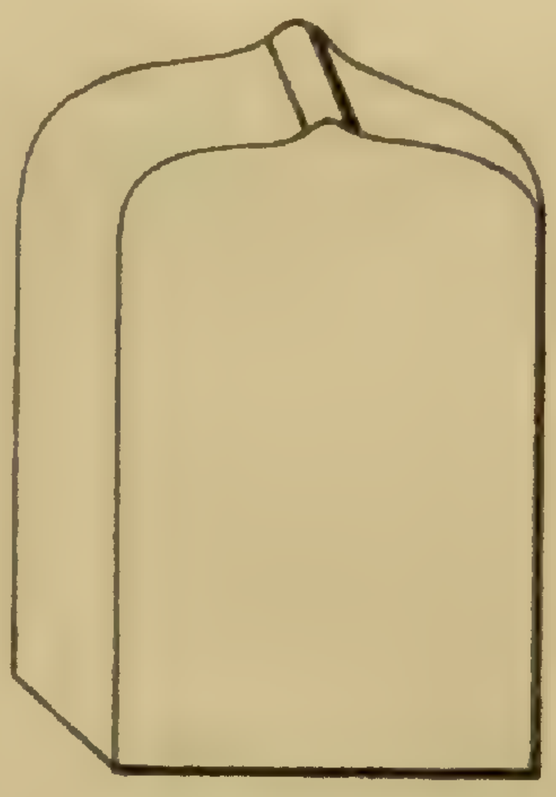
Small gravestone
Found at Kĕramat S. Udang.
on hill above Sheik Ahmad's tomb



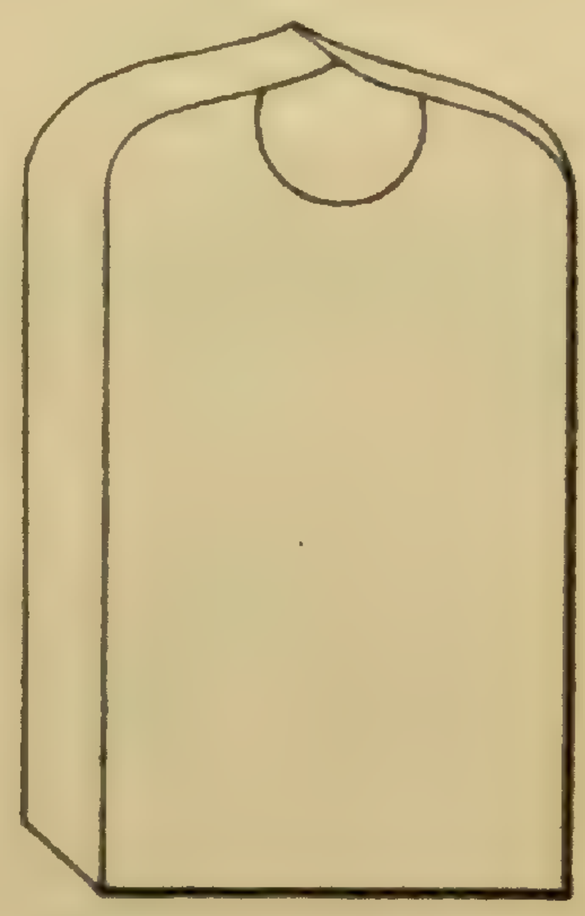
Rough sketch of
laterite gravestone from Kĕramat
S. Udang. Linggi, Negri Sembilan



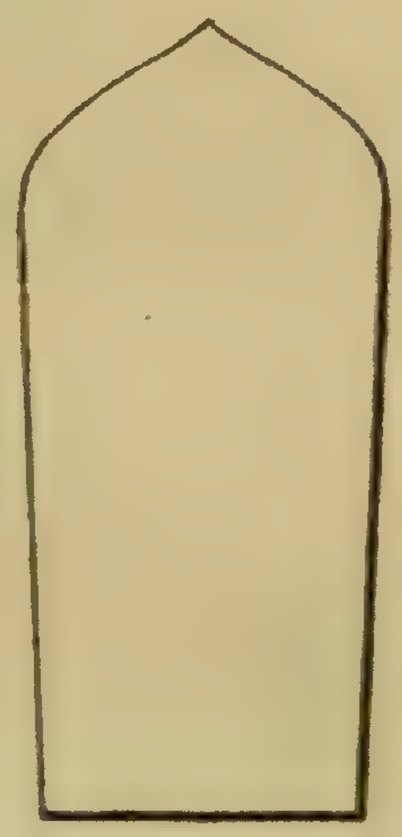
Tombstone of the Hindu period Java



Tombstone of the
Hindu period Java



Tombstone of the
Hindu period Java



The back of a Statue of the Hindu period Java

(Sketches not to Scale)

Helioxincographed at the C. S. O. K. L. F. M. S. Reg. No 232 '20, 405.

XXIV. PLANS OF THE NEGRI SEMBILAN GRAVE AND MEGALITHS WITH NOTES (PLANS 1–5).

By W. A. Wallace, Survey Department, F.M.S.

REMARKS RE THE STONES AND THEIR MEASUREMENTS.

D=Cut or dressed.
R=Rough stone in natural shape.
G=Granite.
L=So called laterite. Really a conglomerate of coarse quartz, sand and stones cemented together with a clay (clay probably from decomposed felspar from granite). This L is probably from quartzite outcrops in schists, shales or phyllites, and is heavily stained with oxide of iron. Or L may be a conglomerate formed in swamp. Or it may be (as some think) "Kabuk," a soft stone said to be dug out soft and then hardened in the sea. L has no effect on a compass needle.
P=Contains patterns, or designs or inscriptions in relief.
C= ,, ,, ,, ,, engraved.

In inches.

Stone No.	Length	Width	Depth	Description.
1	See	notes.		D,P,
2	,,	,,		L,D,C,
3	,,	,,		L,D,C,
4	,,	,,		L,D,
5	,,	,,		L,D,C,
6	,,	,,		L,D,C,
7	,,	,,		L,D,
8	38·0	20·0		L,D,
9	38·0	18·8		L,D,
10	33·0	18·5		L,D,
11	35·0	20·9		L,D,
12	32·0	19·0		L,D,
13	34·5	23.0	18·0	L,D,
14	34·0	19·3		L,D,
15	34·5	19·0		L,D,
16	36·0	19·3		L,D,
17	34·0	19·4		L,D,
18	35·0	21·3		L,D,
19	31·0	18·7		L,D,
20	33·0	17·5		L,D,
21	27·0			L,D,
22	19·0			L,D,
23	13·8			L,D,
24	44·2			L,D,
25	33·0	19·5		L,D,
26	42·0	13·0		L,D,

Stone No.	Length	Width	Depth	Description.
27	23·5	14·0		L,D,
28	42·5	15·0		L,D,
29	33·0	20·5		L,D,
30	35·0	16·5		L,D,
31	30·0	14·3		L,D,
32	22·0			L,D,
33	35·5	16·7		L,D,
34	42·5	20·0	20·0	L,D,
35	31·0	14·0		L,D,
36	32·0	13·0		L,D,
37	19·0			L,D,
38	26·0	14·0		L,D,
39	22·5	15·0		L,D,
40	17·0	12·0	7·0	L,D,
41	19·5	10·0		L,D,
42	22·0	11·0		L,D,
43	20·5	11·0		L,D,
44	20·5	12·0		L,D,
45	19·0	15·5		L,D,
46	17·5	13·5		L,D,
47	18·5	13·0		L,D,
48	17·5	12·5		L,D,
49	19·3	13·0		L,D,
50	19·0	12·5		L,D,
51	17·5	11·0		L,D,
52	17·0	10·5		L,D,
53	17·5	11·5		L,D,
54	11·5	14·0		L,D,
55	18·3	14·0		L,D,
56	11·5	11·0		L,D,
57	25·8	10·3		L,D,
58	23·5	7·8		L,D,
59	17·0	9·0		L,D,
60	19·5	9·0		L,D.
61	24·0	9·3		L,D,
62	18·0	11·0		L,D,
63	19·5	13·5		L,D,
64	19·0	12·5		L,D,
65	15·5	11·5		L,D,
66	20·0	13·0		L,D,
67	17·5	13·0		L,D,
68	19·0	10·0		L,D
69	20·0	12·0		L,D,
70	15·5	13·0		L,D,
71	16·0	13·0		L,D,
72	17·0	12·0		L,D,
73	17·0	12·0		L,D,

Stone No.	Length	Width	Depth	Description.
74	16·5	11·0		L,D,
75	17·0	11·0		L,D,
76	14·0	9·5		L,D,
77	20·5	12·5		L,D,
78	19·3	11·5		L,D,
79	19 3	11·5		L,D,
80	21·0	12·3		L,D,
81	18·0	11·5		L,D,
82	19·5	12·5		L,D,
83	20·5	13·8		L,D,
84	19·8	11·0		L,D,
85	18·0	11·5		L,D,
86	19·3	11·0		L,D,
87	19·3	11·0		L,D,
88	19·5	11·0		L,D,
89	19·5	11·8		L,D,
90	20·0	12·8		L,D,
91	21·5	11·0		L,D,
92	See	notes		G,P,
93	29·5	10·0		G,
94	See	notes		G,P,
95	,,	,,		G,P,
96	36·0	30·0		L,D,
97	15·0	12·0		L,D,
98	Much decomposed could not measure			L,D,
99				L,D,
100	41·7	41·9	12·0	L,D,
101	See	notes		G,D,
102	62·0	37·0		G,D,
103	See	notes		G,
104	,,	,,		G,
105	Said to be old stone cannon ball			
106	33 0	22·0		G,P,
107	See	notes		G,D,
108	At ground	32·0	Level	G,
109	,,	26·0	,,	G,
110	22·0	14·0		L,D,
111	25·5	11·5	10·0	L,D,
112	12 0	11·0		L,D,
113	22·5	12·5		L,D,
114	23·0	16·8		L,D,
115	17 7	15·5		L,D,
116	18·0	11·0		L,D,
117	20·0	11·0		L,D,C,
118	21·0	10·5		L,D,
119	18·0	8·0		L,D,
120	21·5	11·0		L,D,

Stone No.	Length	Width	Depth	Description.
121	19·5	12·0		L,D,
122	21·0	14·0		L,D,
123	22·0	13·0		L,D,
124	22·5	14·0		L,D,
125	15·0	12·0		L,D,
126	20·5	14·0		L,D,
127	21·0	12·0		L,D,
128	14·0			L,D,
129	See notes and plans.			L,D,
130		,,		L,D,
131		,,		L,D,
132		,,		L,D
133		,,		G,
134		,,		R,L,
135		,,		R,L,
136		,,		R,L,
137		,,		R,L,
138		,,		R,L,
139		,,		L,D,
140	18·0	9·5		L,D,
141	16·0	9·5		L,D,
142	19·0	9·5		L,D,
143	12·9	9·5		L,D,
144	See	notes		G,P,
145	15·0	9·0		L,D,
146	16·0	9·0		L,D,
142	18·0	9·0		L,D,
148	16·0	9·0		L,D,
149	16·0			L,D,
150	16·0	10·0		L,D,
151	14·0	10·0		L,D,
152	15·0	10·0		L,D,

Stone No. (1) Stands on end planted in upright position, looks at first glance as if made of concrete of colour and grain similar to that of a sand-concrete floor of the rough (not shining) kind. Scraped with a knife it comes off in a grey powder, like a pure Portland cement, or a decomposing lime stone. It is hard and well preserved. For size please see plan No. 4.

The inscriptions on A,B,C and D are very clear, are in relief of from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The surface of the characters is level (or flush) with the side surface of the stone and the spaces between the characters and inside the square have been cut or scraped down to the lower level. This stone as found sloped to the South with a zenith distance

of 7°8. The hole passes right through the stone and appears to have been bored from the North side to the centre and from the South side to the centre and the two holes miss by about ½ inch. If the stone had been a casting one would expect the hole made by one straight bar of wood placed in the mould. Note ornamentation at base of East side. This pattern is also in relief.

Stone No. (2) Vide plan 4. Rock, vide list of stones. The ornamentations and inscriptions are incised (are not in relief). I was informed years ago that it was said the inscription inside circle E gave a day, a month and a year. But I cannot say if this be so. Stone 2 rests on top of stone 8.

Stone No (3) Vide plan 4. Rock, vide list of stones. This stone is similar to stone 2. Use sketch of stone 2 but CD = North side and DF = West side. Then measurements of stone 3 are CD = 2′ 11,″ LM = 2′ 6½,″ AB = 1′ 9,″ NO = 10½,″ DF = 1′ 8,″ GH = 0′ 11,″ and diameter of E = 8½,″ Ornamentations incised, inscriptions, if any, not clear.

Stones Nos. (4) & (5) Vide plan 4. Rock, vide list of stones. Stones (4) and (5) are similar. These two stones as found leaned about 45° to the West. Had a West zenith distance of about 45°. Obviously these stones were originally vertical with their bases level and resting on the horizontal plane formed by the upper surfaces of stones 29, 25, 19, and 34. The West side touched the East sides of stones 10, 11 and 12 and they still do so but the bottom West edges of 4 and 5 have obviously sunk. They are of a much better quality of rock than the others of the same material.

Stones Nos. (6) & (7) Vide plan 4. Rock, vide list of stones. Rock of better quality. These two stones are similar but stone 7 has *not* the rectangular ornamental lines on South and West sides. Stone (7) rectangles (squares) LM are engraved lines parallel to edges of stone and about 2 inches in from edge. The bases of these stones rested in same horizontal plane as did stones 4 and 5. Stones 6 and 7 as found leaned 45° towards the East. For same reasons as stated for stones 4 and 5.

Stones Nos. (8) to (12) & (14) to (17) Are rectangular and form a level rectangular platform. M.S.L. height of upper surface of stone (9) = 13·62′ feet and of stone (17) M.S.L. = 13·81′ feet. So this platform has a mean M.S.L. height of $13\frac{7}{10}'$ feet. Measurements of this rectangle are West side 12′-5″, East side 12′-1½″, South and 6′-9″ and North end 6′-7″. So mean length = 12′–13″, Mean width = 6′-8″. The hollow centre of this rectangle has a M.S.L. height of 13 feet and appears to be of earth. Stone 17 appears to have been ornamented with incised rectangular lines, and may have an inscription.

Stones Nos. (13) & (18) Are rectangular and rest on the same horizontal plane as did stones 4, 5, 6 and 7. Stone (13) leans to the West. Stone (18) leans to the East, for the same reasons as before stated. (Because one edge was resting on rock and the opposite edge on earth only.)

Stones Nos. (19) to (38) Are rectangular and form a level rectangular platform M.S.L. height of upper surface of stone (19) = 13·31′, of stone (25) = 13.54′ of stone (29) = 13·31′, of stone (34) = 13·45′, So mean M.S.L. height of this platfrom = 13·4′ feet. The measurements of this platform are West side 16·82,′ East side 16·98′, North and12·35′, South end 12·39′. So mean length = 16.90′, Mean width = 12·37′ feet. The inner space between this rectangular platfrom and the inner rectangular platform was found filled with earth to the 13-foot level.

Stones Nos. (44) to (91), & (113) to (127) Are rectangular and form a rectangular platform. M.S.L. height of upper surface of stone (113) = 12·14′, of stone (44) = 12·16′, of stone (62) = 12·14,′ of stone (76) = 11·66′. So mean M.S.L. height of this platform = 12·03′, and its measurements are West side 33·04′, East side = 32·85′, North end = 25·17′, South end = 24·93′. So mean height = 32·95′, mean width = 25·05′.

Stones Nos. (39) (40), (111), (112), & (140) to (143) & (145) to (152) Are rectangular. Their surfaces being at the 12′ level. The space between this outside rectangle and the next inner rectangle was found filled with earth to the 12′ level.

Stone No. (96) Has its upper surface at the 12′ level.

Stone No. (110) Is rectangular. It was found after excavating, with its upper surface at about the 11 feet level.

Stones Nos. (42) & (45) Are rectangular. They rest with their lower surfaces resting on top surfaces of stones 126, 125 and 124, and 117 and 116 respectively.

Stones Nos. (114) to (127) Are also rectangular and were only discovered after excavating. They appear to have sunk.

Stone No. (128) Is rectangular and is at a lower level. The lower surface of 127 rests on top of it.

Stone No. (41) Is rectangular. Its upper surface is on the same level as upper surface of 28 and 27, etc.

Stone No. (144) Is of granite, it was planted upright in the ground and has some patterns or ornamentations in relief.

Stone No. (129) Has been dressed or cut but is much decomposed.

Stone No. (153) (Not shown on plans.) Was a sphere of about one foot diameter and had a straight hole on one inch diameter drilled through its centre from surface to surface. It was of a rock that looked very much like the rock described as "I," but seemed more granulated. In 1910 stone 153 was nearly perfect but it has been systematically rubbed on stone 12 until stone 153 is now only about ½ its

1910 size and is misshapen and the North top side of stone 12 has been practically rubbed away. On night of 7th August, 1919, a considerable amount of rubbing of these stones was done (between 6 P.M. and 8 A.M.) by some one (the Malays said the *Hantu* always did this) and a considerable amount of powdered rock left. From a sample of this powder, I obtained, about 70% (bulk) sharp quartz silica sand, 10% other stoney matter (but could find no mica, tourmaline or magnetite) and 20% of a substance which dissolved into a dark cocoa coloured clay and washed off easily with water.

Stone No. (92) (Vide plan 5). Is of granite and stands planted in the ground. It had exposed 7′ 3″ of its length and was 1′ 9″ wide half way up. Cross section at ground level, vide plan 3. Its East surface is flat and is ornamented with well cut designs in relief. This stone looks like a splinter from a large boulder of onion granite and lengthways is concave to the East. Stone 92 also leans towards the East. A plumbob was hung from the point A (the highest point of stone 92: vide plan 5) and dropped on the centre of stone No. 100, vide measurements on sketch plan No. 5. M.S.L. height upper surface stone No. 100 = 10·′9, M.S.L. height of point A = 16·′9, so AB = 6 feet. Please note bearings from B to the two edges of stone 92 (at the 10·′9 level).

Stone (93) Is of granite. It stands planted in the ground and had 2′ 5″ of its length exposed. Cross-section vide plan 3. This stone 93 has been broken off and stone No. 101 seems to be the top half of 93. Stone (93–101) looks like shedding from an onion granite boulder.

Stone (94) Is of granite. Also seems to be from an onion granite boulder. It was found as shown on plan 3 with its flat side up and its convex side down. It seems as if it had fallen and that it originally stood on end with its East end planted in the ground. It is ornamented with well cut patterns etc. in relief, on its flat surface. Length of stone 94 = 7′ 2,″ width 3 feet.

Stone (95) Vide plan 5. Is a granite slab. It was found standing planted in the ground. It leaned about 40° towards the North. I think it is not in its original position, and also that originally it stood upright. This question could be better decided when the remainder of the stone has been seen. It is ornamented on its North face with patterns in relief. According to my measurements of the sides of the triangles, angles scale as follows:— $\angle HEI = 86°$, $\angle EIH = 48°$, $\angle IHE = 46°$, $\angle ONM = 86\frac{1}{4}°$ = $\angle NMO = 45\frac{1}{2}°$, $\angle MON = 48\frac{1}{4}°$, $\angle JKL = 86\frac{1}{2}°$, $\angle KLJ = 46\frac{1}{2}°$, $\angle LJK = 47°$. The angles on the

stone however appear to me to be very accurate as regards right angles, etc. The discrepancy being caused by the fact that the surface although regular is slightly curved and does not form a true plane. Two cotton threads stretched along lines HE and EI had to be raised about 3 inches out from E in order to be drawn taut when touching I and H. The angle of intersection of these two threads gave 90° exactly (on a 6-inch protractor divided to half degrees). I am of opinion that this diagram was cut when stone was horizontal and face up and that above it strings were stretched giving a more or less perfectly regular and rectangular pattern and that the pattern cut on the stone is a vertical projection of the pattern in string. Or say at midday followed the shadows of the string as projected on the stone.

Stone No. (97) Rectangular and similar to 78, 79, etc.

Stones Nos. (98) (99) & (100) All of L. and were rectangular, they form a platfrom or table under stone 92. Stones 98 and 99 are much decomposed and so much so that measurements were not possible. Stone 100 is well preserved, but cracked and broken in several places, but all pieces are more or less in position and measurements were easily made.* To me there appears to be evidence of an old road (say about 15 feet wide) from (vide plan No. 1) near the well marked 8 to the rocks at 14 on plan 1. And the indications follow the same grade from end to end. Also vide contour plans there appears to have been an embankment (around the main rect-angle of stones) which has mostly disappeared. Date of my survey, August 8th, 1919.

Stone No. (101) See note re stone (92): 101 is of granite and appears to be the upper half of (93).

Stone No. (102) A granite segment, probably from boulder of onion granite. Its upper surface (when found) is slightly concave. Its lower surface convex. Thickest at centre, say 9″ to 12,″ and about 2″ thick at edges. See plan 3 for position (as found) and shape It is 62 inches long by 37 inches wide. It has been cut or dressed on all edges. Possibly this stone originally rested on top of stone 100.

Stones Nos. (103) and (104) Granite slabs standing planted in the ground (about 2 feet exposed).

Stone No (105) A rough sphere of stone about 1 foot diameter. Said to be an old stone cannon ball.

Stone No. (106) Carved in relief, is of granite. Found lying on surface, vide plan 3.

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* Mr. Evans tells me that after excavating stone 98 was found to be hexagonal or octagonal.

Stone No. (107) Dressed or cut granite : stands planted in ground about 1 foot exposed.

Stones Nos. (108) & (109) Granite slabs (or segments) found standing planted in the ground, exposed about 2 feet.

Stones Nos. (130) to (132) Of dressed L. Vide plans 1 and 5. Take measurements by scale from plan 5. Stones 130 and 132 solid cylinders, Stone 131 rectangular.

Stone No. (133). A splinter of granite (partly ornamented in relief) found lying on surface probably originally stood between stones 131 and 132.

Stones Nos. (134) (135) (136) (137) Were found as shown on plan 1. They are all of L. Only surfaces had been exposed at time of survey but they appeared to be isolated uncut stones in the rough.

Stone No. (138) Of dressed or cut L, is smaller but otherwise similar to stone 139. Vide plans Nos. 1 and 4.

Stone No. (139) Of dressed or cut L. Vide plan 1 for position, plan 4 for design.

[Mr. Wallace remarks and shows in his plans that the apex of stone 92 (the Pĕdang or Sword) is exactly above the middle of the tabular stone lying at its base.

This condition is purely accidental though Mr. Wallace did not know it: the Pĕdang was in danger of falling some years ago and was roughly straightened and propped by a member of the Museums Department.

Even, however, had the relative positions of the two stones not been accidental there would be no more reason probably for trying to read a meaning in them than there is now they are known to be fortuitous.—*C. Boden Kloss.*]

PLAN NO. 1
OF
KRAMAT PENGKALAN KEMPAS

Scale 2 Chains to an Inch

Contours at 1 ft: Intervals

F. B. 8459

No.	REFERENCE Particulars
	Stones Found (130. 131. 132. 133.)
	.. .. (134.)
	.. .. (135.)
	.. .. (136.)
	.. .. (92. 93. 94. 98. 99. to 105.)
	.. .. (137.)
	.. .. (138.)
	Well
	..
	..
	Water Hole
	Mound, and Stone Found (139)
	Trig Stn: M. S. L. Height 60 Ft.
	Lat: 2° 27′ 02″ North
	Long 102° 01′ 06″ East
	Outcrop of so-called Laterite looks similar to the squared stones at Kramat

Surveyor: W. Arthur Wallace 6/9

Heliosincographed at the Central Survey Office, Kuala Lumpur. F. M. S. Reg. No. 232 '20, 405.

PLAN NO. 2

OF

KRAMAT PENGKALAN KEMPAS

Scale 40 Links to an Inch

Contours at 1 Link intervals

F. B. 3459

Surveyor: W. Arthur Wallace 6/8/19

REFERENCE

		Height above M.S.L.		
Corner	■	18·40	Lks	Mean 18·4 Lks
,,	X	18·43	,,	
,,	Y	18·40	,,	Z. appears to have sunk
,,	Z	17·66	,,	
,,	B	20·52	,,	Mean 20·3 Lks
,,	A	20·16	,,	
,,	C	20·38	,,	
,,	D	20·16	,,	
,,	P	20·65	,,	Mean 20·8
,,	T	20·93	,,	
Stone	I	23·87	,,	At centre of top Southern edge
,,	92	25·58	,,	At highest point of the Stone or weapon

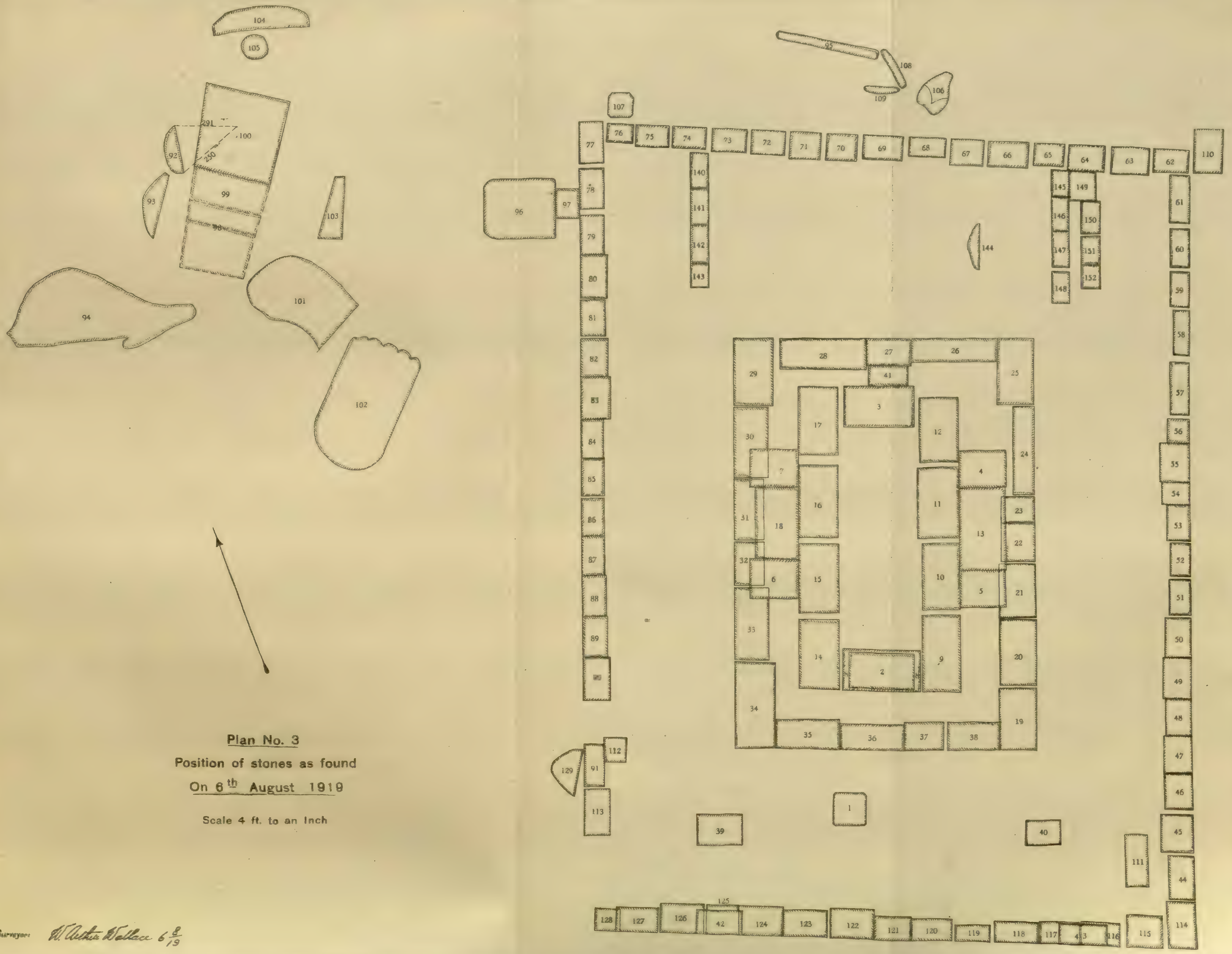
	True Bearing			
■ Z	21°	18′	30″	Mean 21° 32′ 07″
B D	21	40	00	
A C	21	28	00	
X Y	21	42	00	
Z Y	114°	05′	00″	Mean 112° 54′ 20″
D C	111	33	30	
B A	112	20	00	
■ X	113	39	00	

	Lengths		
Z Y	38·14	Lks	Mean 37·96
■ X	37·77	,,	
Z ■	50·06	,,	Mean 49·91
X Y	49·77	,,	
D C	18·71	,,	Mean 18·75
B A	18·78	,,	
D B	25·48	,,	Mean 25·61
A C	25·73	,,	

Mean or Middle Distances Between Lines

X Y	and	A C = 9·73 Lks		Mean 9·60
■ Z	,,	B D = 9·46 Lks		
Z Y	,,	D C = 12·65	,,	Mean 12·15
B A	,,	■ X = 11·65	,,	

Heliozincographed at the Central Survey Office, Kuala Lumpur. F. M. S. Reg. No. 232 '20. 405.



Plan No. 3

Position of stones as found

On 6th August 1919

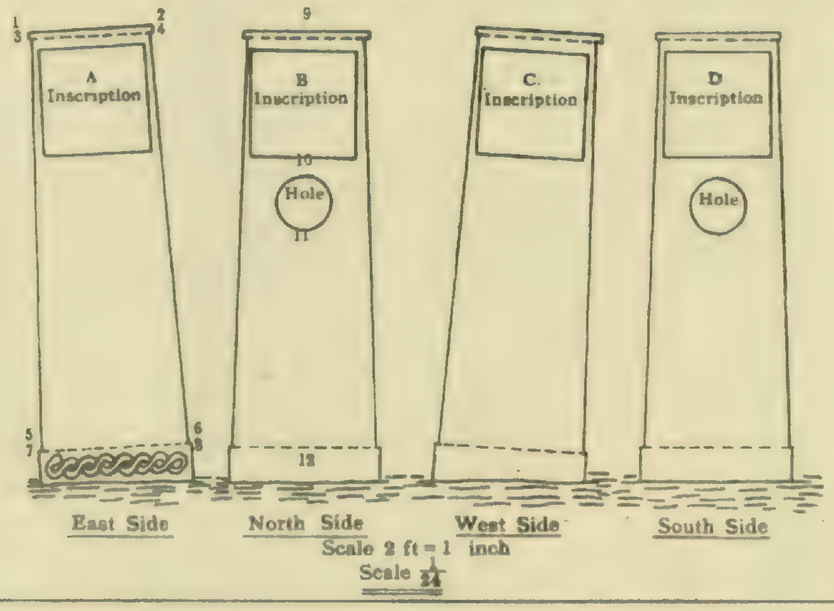
Scale 4 ft. to an Inch

Surveyor: W. Arthur Wallace 6/8/19

Heliozincographed at the Central Survey Office, Kuala Lumpur. F. M. S. Reg. No. 232 '20. 486.

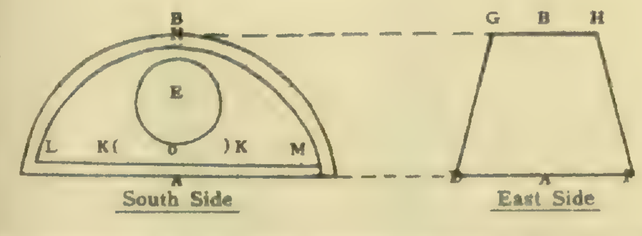
Plan No. 4

Stone No. 1



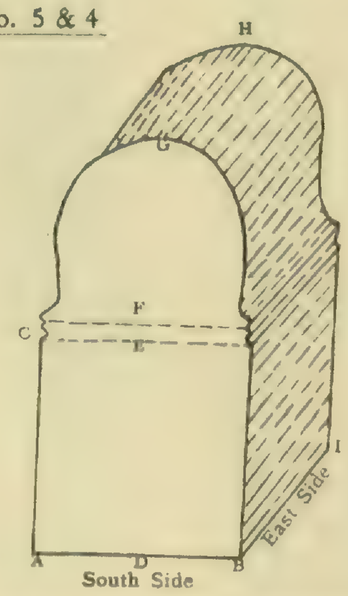
9-12 = 3-10″
9-10 = 1-2 3/4
9-11 = 1-7 1/4
10-11 = —4 1/2
7-5 / 6-8 = — 4/10″
5-6 = —15″
3-4 = —12″
1-3 / 2-4 = — 1/10″

Stone No. 2



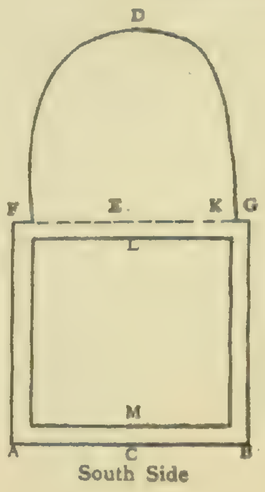
A B = 1′ 2″1/2
C D = 2′ 8″
D F = 1′ 5″1/2
G H = 11″
Diameter of E 10″3/10
L M = 2′ 4″
Inscription in E and from K to K

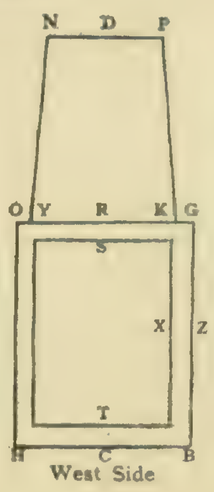
Stones No. 5 & 4



Stone 4		Stone 5
1-11 1/2	= A B =	1′-10″1/2
1-6 1/2	= B I =	1-6
1-9 1/2	= A C =	1-10
1-9 1/2	= D E =	1-10
1-10 1/2	= D F =	1-11
3-6 1/2	= D G =	3-6 1/2

Stones No. 6 & 7



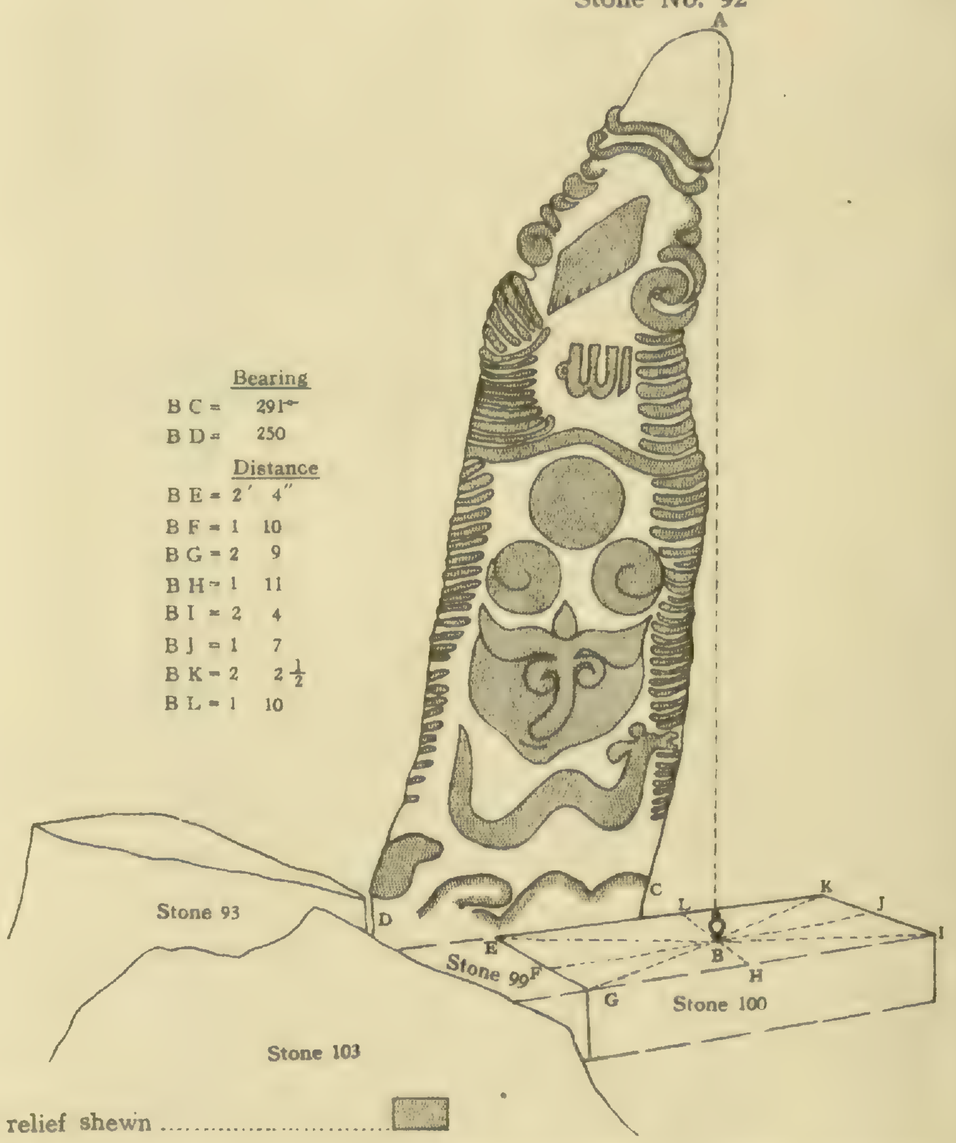


Stone 6		Stone 7
1—7 1/2	= H B =	1—6
1—5 1/2	= D E =	——
—3	= R S =	——
1—11 1/2	= B G =	1—10 1/2
—2 1/2	= T C =	——
——	= A B =	2—0
——	= O G =	1—6
——	= Y K =	1—3
——	= N P =	1—1 1/2
—2 1/2	= X Z =	——

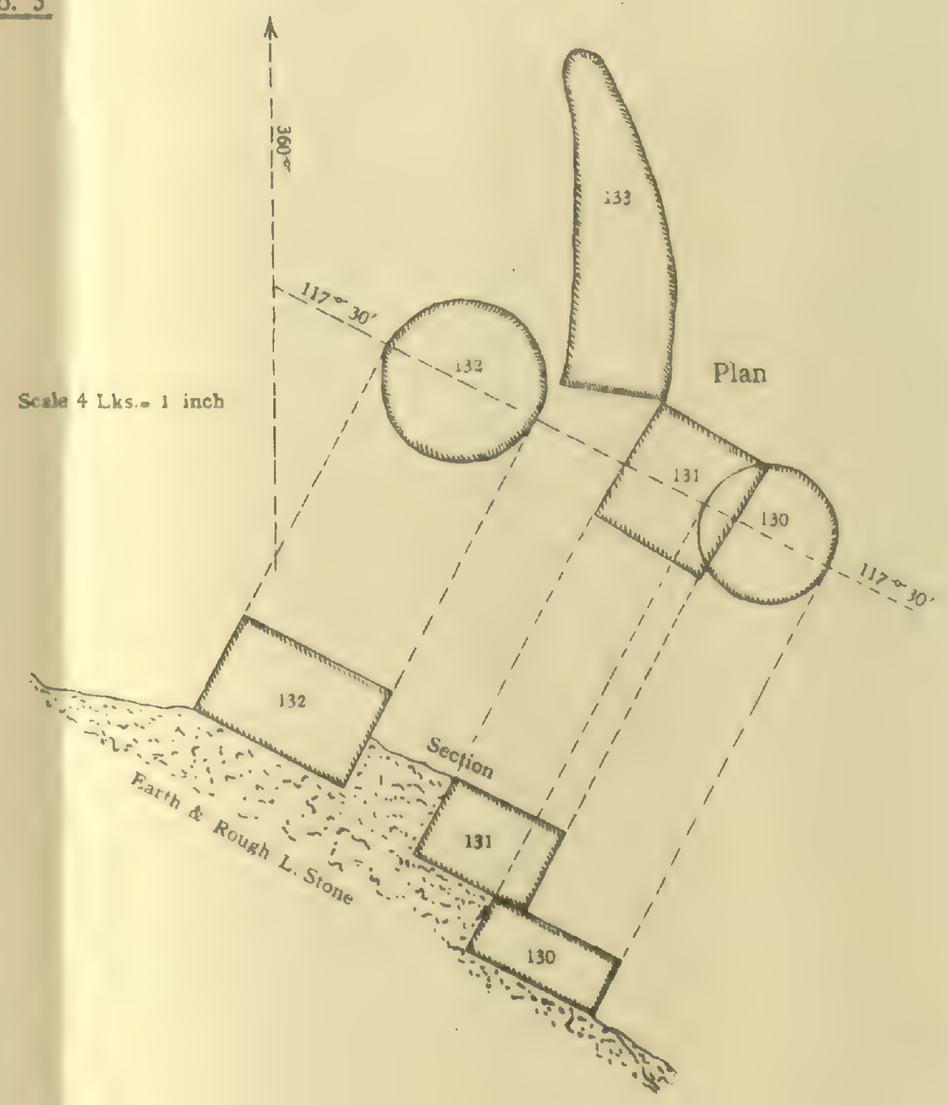
Not measured
Estimated Scale 4 Lks. to one Inch

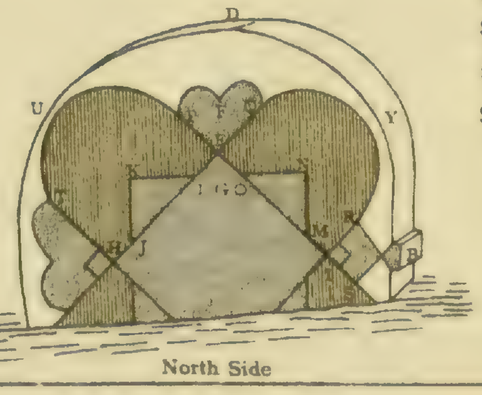
Plan No. 5

Stone No. 92



Portions in relief shewn .....





Surveyor:

W. Arthur Wallace 6/9

Stone 95

Surface of stone.....

Surface incised 1/4".....

Surface incised 1/2".....

Measurements in inches

D X = about 7·0″		H J = 4·0		H T = 8·3	
A B = 49″0		H L = 16·6		A C = 24·5	
A H = 11·9		J L = 12·6	△	C D = 27·7	
H I = 27·7	△	J K = 9·2		C E = 14·3	
H E = 20·6		K L = 9·1		C F = 20·6	
E I = 19·9		L E = H E - HL = 4″0			
I O = 15·8		K N = 24·0		C G = 11·1	
I M = 4·0		I P = 26·9		C Y = 29·3	
M O = 11·8	△	H Q = 30″1		BYDUA = 85″5	
M N = 8·7		I R = 8·0			
O N = 8·5		I S = 7·0			

Heliozincographed at the Central Survey Office, Kuala Lumpur. F. M. S. Reg. No. 232 '20, 406.

XXV. NOTES ON THE PENGKALAN KEMPAS TOMBSTONE.

By C. Boden Kloss.

(Plates XII—XV.)

At the south end of Sheikh Ahmad's grave at Pengkalan Kempas in Negri Sembilan (near the bank of the Linggi River and close to the boundary of Malacca) stands his tombstone.

This is a quadrilateral pillar pierced near its centre by a hole running from side to side and bearing between its top and the perforation an inscription on each face.

The east and west sides, which are devoid of perforation (pls. XIV and XV), show in Arabic-Malay the same legend: one version clean-cut and apparently the work of a good craftsman, but an illiterate man--the other the product of a stone-cutter both illiterate and poor.

The north and south sides through which the perforation passes (pls. XII and XIII) bear legends in an unidentified script; but each is prefaced by the same invocation in Arabic-Malay as on the other sides. In this case, however, the records are not in duplicate though they agree with the others in that one, the southern, is somewhat inferior in workmanship. All the legends appear to have been cut at the same period.

This stone has several times been referred to in print by R. J. Wilkinson,[1] by R. O. Winstedt[2]; and by I. H. N. Evans[3] and W. A. Wallace.[3]

Wilkinson has nothing to say about the inscriptions. Winstedt states:—"The Indian lettering has never been deciphered; but the Malay inscription in Arabic lettering, evidently done locally and by an amateur carver, records that it marks the grave of one Shaikh Ahmad Makhtar Ramali ib ni Marfu Talani and was erected in A.H. 872 (corresponding to 1467 A.D.) 'in the reign of Sultan Shah Mansur.' It is possible that parts of the Shaikh's tomb were constructed locally and that other parts like the highly ornate 'Sword'[4] were brought from India, as we have seen was a common custom."

Winstedt has borrowed the manuscript reading of Dain

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[1] Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya, 1908, p. 77, with figure (p. 79) of the southern face.

[2] Journ. Straits Branch Royal Asiat. Soc., No. 77, 1917, p. 173.

[3] Antea.

[4] Cf. Evans and Wallace, antea, plates and plans.

Abdul Hamid formerly Malay Assistant, F.M.S. Museums, which is no longer acceptable in entirety.

Recently I forwarded photographs of all the faces to Heer J. P. Moquette of Batavia (the well-known authority on Malay tombstones and coins) who wrote regarding them :—" I send a transcript of the Arabic-Malay inscription but I regret that I have been unable to decipher the whole. My version, therefore, is not decisive, for so far as regards the words underlined and the words omitted I have no opinion at all.

" It is impossible, to me, to read ' Makhtar Ramali ibni Marfu Talani ' as given by Mr. Winstedt.

" Both Arabic-Malay inscriptions are the same, only the words are not always on the same lines. My transcription follows the east face (pl. XIV). On the other (pl. XV) there is زمان for زمانن and شا for شاه. On pl. XIV after Mansur is a word مصو not found on pl. XV, and incomprehensible to me.

" Reading is difficult through lack of diacritical marks which, too, are misplaced when present: and as for the names mere guess work.

" For the second name I have written Majnun but one may read مجبوب, Mahbub, also ; and possibly many other names unknown to me. Makhtar is impossible.

" Of all the words of my transcription not underlined I am sure : of some of the characters I have no opinion.

" The other inscriptions I do not understand : the lettering is old Javanese." [1]

[More recently an Arab pundit of Singapore to whom the photographs and Mr. Moquette's transliteration were submitted through Dr. Winstedt reads *bog 'at* " place " in line 2, accepts *u'lkhairi* in line 3 and *u'llahu. Amin! Amin* in line 10 ; and reads the name as Shaikh Ahmad Mahbub Tebrai (طلري) bin Bondi (بوندي) Biazar (بيازار) and بنصر in line 9 as *nasarah* " may God aid him."]

1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
1. *Bismi' llahi'r-Rahmani'r-Rahimi*
2. هذا دار الامان بقعه
2. *Hadza dar-u'l aman bog'at*
3. الجير مقام شيخ احمد مجنو
3. *u'l-khairi maqam Shaikh Ahmad Majnun*

---

[1] This is the general opinion : but experts in the Javanese scripts have never been able to decipher it.—*C. B. K.*

4. ... ... ن مللراي بن

4. *Mallaray bin* .....

5. قد هجرة صلي ... ...

5. .... *pada hijrah salla'*

6. الله عليه و سلم دو لا ثن

6. *Allahu' alaihi wa sallam, dĕlapan*

7. راتس توجه ثوله

7. *ratus tujoh puloh.*

8. دو تاهن قد زمانن سلطا

8. *dua tahun pada zaman-nya Sultan*

9. بنصر [?] ن شاه منصور

9. *Shah Mansur* [?] *nasarah*—

10. الله امن امن

10. *u'llahu. Amin! Amin.*

The translation will be (slightly altering Heer Moquette's phrasing):—

1. In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate!
2. This mansion of peace is a place
3. of goodness, the grave of Shaikh Ahmad
4. ?
5. ? in the A. H.—may prayer.
6. and the peace of God be upon him,—eight
7. hundred and seventy
8. two years, in the time of Sultan
9. Shah Mansur—may God aid him
10. Amen! Amen!

I was struck a couple of years ago by the superficial similarity between some of the undeciphered characters and several in modern Siamese and I sent a photograph of the north face (pl. XII) to our Consul-General in Bangkok, Mr. T. H. Lyle, C.M.G.

Mr. Lyle wrote me:—"I have managed to obtain expert opinion on that very interesting inscription which you suggested might be old Siamese. As a result of my enquiries I enclose copies of letters from Professor Coedes of the Siamese Royal Library and from Mr. F. H. Giles who is familiar with Siamese, Laos, Burmese, Shan, Karen and other tongues.

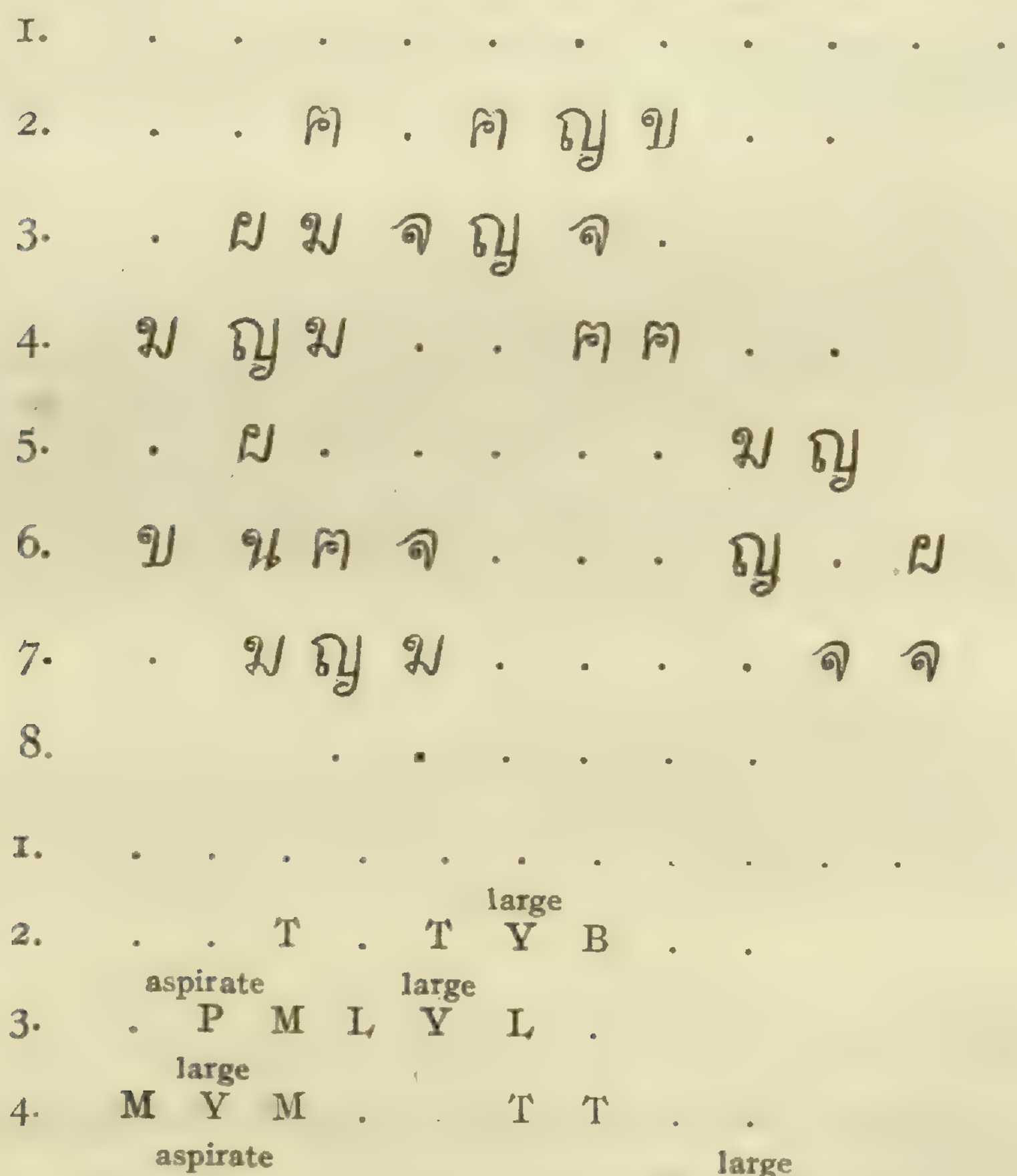
"The consensus of opinion is that the inscription shows old Javanese influence. It is not Siamese though several of the letters are clearly recognisable to any person familiar with the present script....."

Professor Coedes wrote:—"I cannot decipher the inscription. All I can say is that it is *not* Siamese. The characters are rather similar to those of the old Kawi alpha-

bet. If my hypothesis is right the inscription was most probably made by immigrants from Java or Sumatra..... I am able to recognise most of the characters, but I have not sufficient knowledge of the dialect to give you any more substantial information."

Mr. Giles wrote:—"The characters resemble the old Javanese. But it must be remembered that all these further Indian alphabets come from a similar stock—South Indian.[1]

"I have sent the photograph to Chao Lak Phravert, of Muang Bassac on the Mekong, and these are the letters he deciphers and considers the same as Lao (Eastern)":—



1. . . . . .
2. . . ค . ค ญ ข . .
3. . ฆ ฆ จ ญ จ .
4. ฆ ญ ฆ . . ค ค . .
5. . ฆ . . . . . ฆ ญ
6. ข ฉ ค จ . . . ญ . ฆ
7. . ฆ ญ ฆ . . . . จ จ
8. . . . . .

1. . . . . .
2. . . T . T Y B . .
3. . P M L Y L .
4. M Y M . . T T . .
5. . P . . . . . M Y
6. B N T L . . . Y . P
7. . M Y M . . . . L L
8. . . . . .

[1] This, of course, is the reason why one can see resemblances between odd letters of the present inscription and letters in stone inscriptions ranging from South Annam and Cambodia (Cham) through Borneo and the Malay Peninsula to Java.—*C. B. K.*

This is the first time this connection has been suggested.

Several characters in other epigraphs of the Malay Peninsula seem to bear a resemblance to some of the letters on the Pengkalan Kempas stone:— such are some in the inscriptions found in Northern Province Wellesley by Colonel Low,[1] inscriptions found at Kedah by Colonel Low[2] and the Takuapa inscription.[3]

It may be noted that the characters of the Pengkalan Kempas pillar are produced by cutting away the surface of the stone and leaving them in relief.[4] The few inscriptions which have been discovered in the Malay Peninsula and those (I believe) of Indo-China and the Malaysian islands are on the other hand all incised.[5]

My own opinion, which I hazard though I realise its lack of value, is that Sheikh Ahmad was an immigrant, an Indian Mohammedan or Indianised Arab, and that one pair of inscriptions was made by his own people, the other by Malays amongst whom he died: and that for an explanation of the undeciphered characters we shall probably have to look back to Southern India.

Possibly, nearer at hand, similar remains may be found in Acheen in North Sumatra.

These notes are written merely to "start the hare" and introduce the plates which it is hoped may meet the eye of some one capable of deciphering the inscriptions. The grave and the adjacent monoliths, re-discovered not long ago, are among the most interesting of the few antiquities of the Malay States and it is believed that a full knowledge of the legends may shed further light on their origin.

---

[1] Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, XVII, 1848, pp. 63, 64, 71; pl. 4: re-printed in Trubner's Oriental Miscellany: Essays relating to Indo-China, I, 1886, pp. 224, 225, 231 and plate.

[2] op. cit., XVIII, 1849, pp. 247-9, pl. X: re-printed tom. cit. pp. 232–4 and plate.

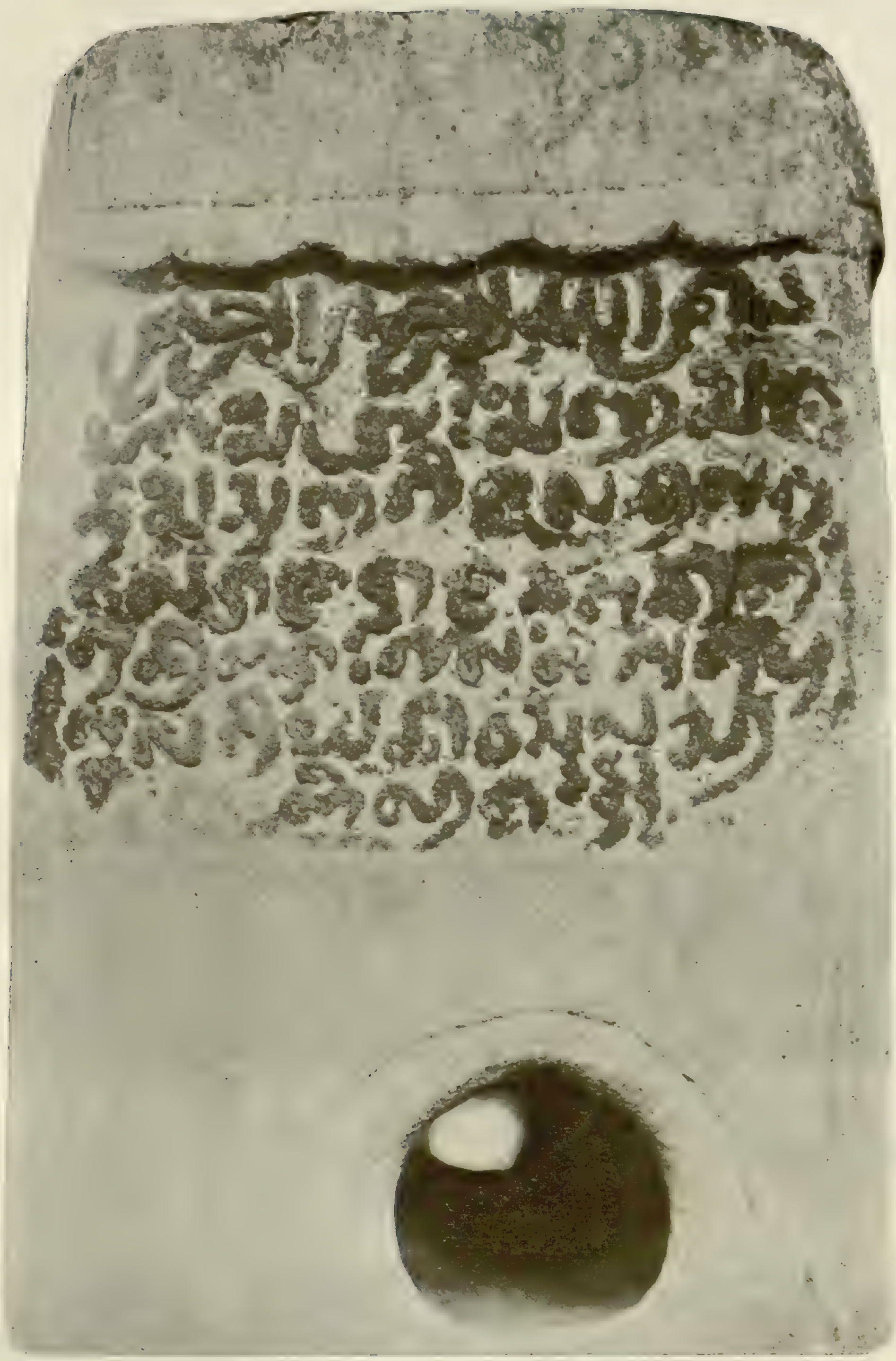
[3] Bulletin de la Commission Archeologique de l'Indo-Chine, II, 1910, pp. 147–154, pl. XIII. (See also other volumes of this publication which should be consulted by all interested in the ancient remains of the Malay Peninsula.)

[4] As also the word "Allah" on the neighbouring monolith (antea pl. V.)

[5] See, however, an inscription in relief figured in Raffles' "History of Java," edn. I.

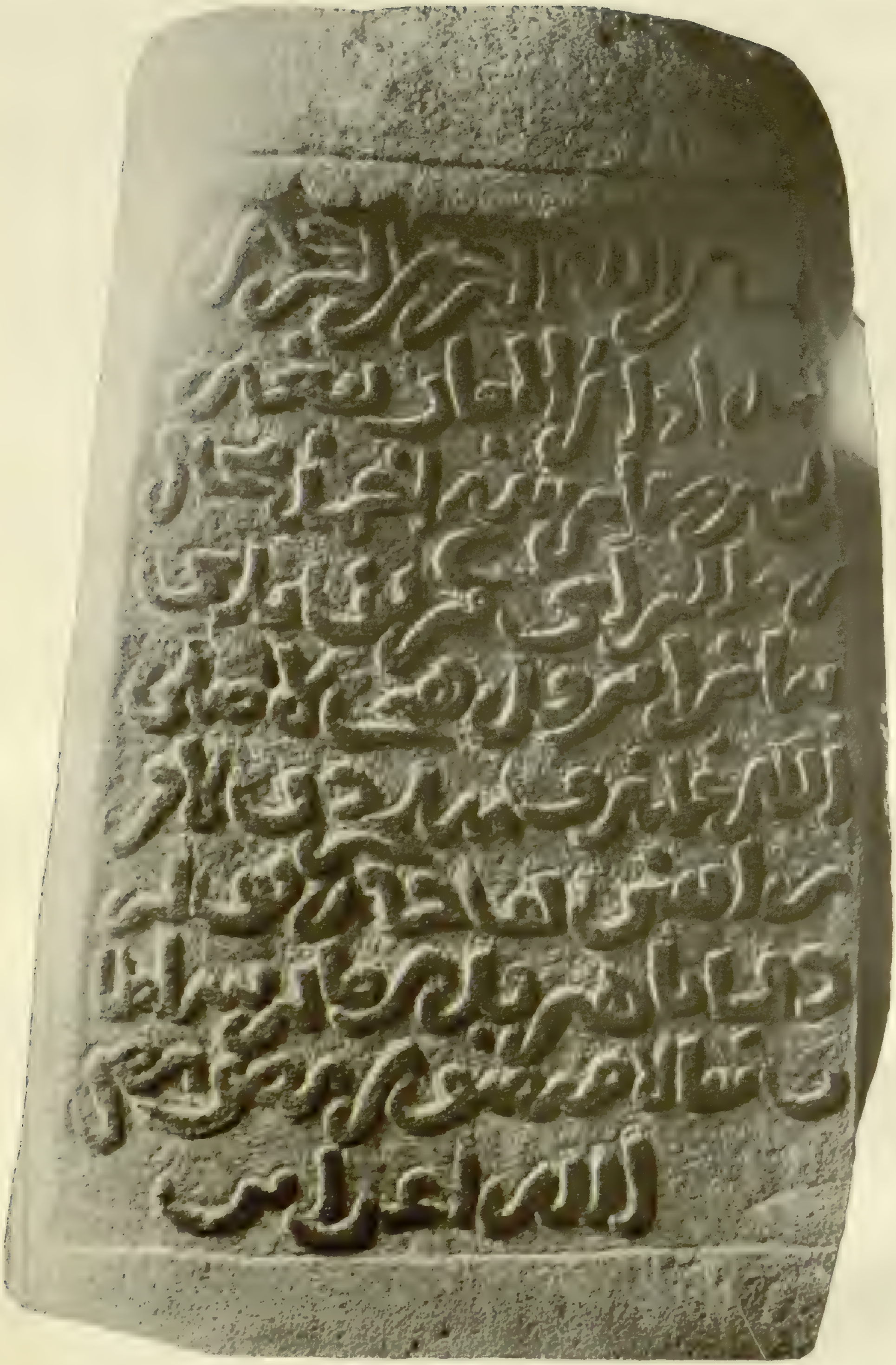
C. BODEN KLOSS, PHOTO.

PENGKALEN KEMPAS TOMBSTONE, NORTH SIDE.



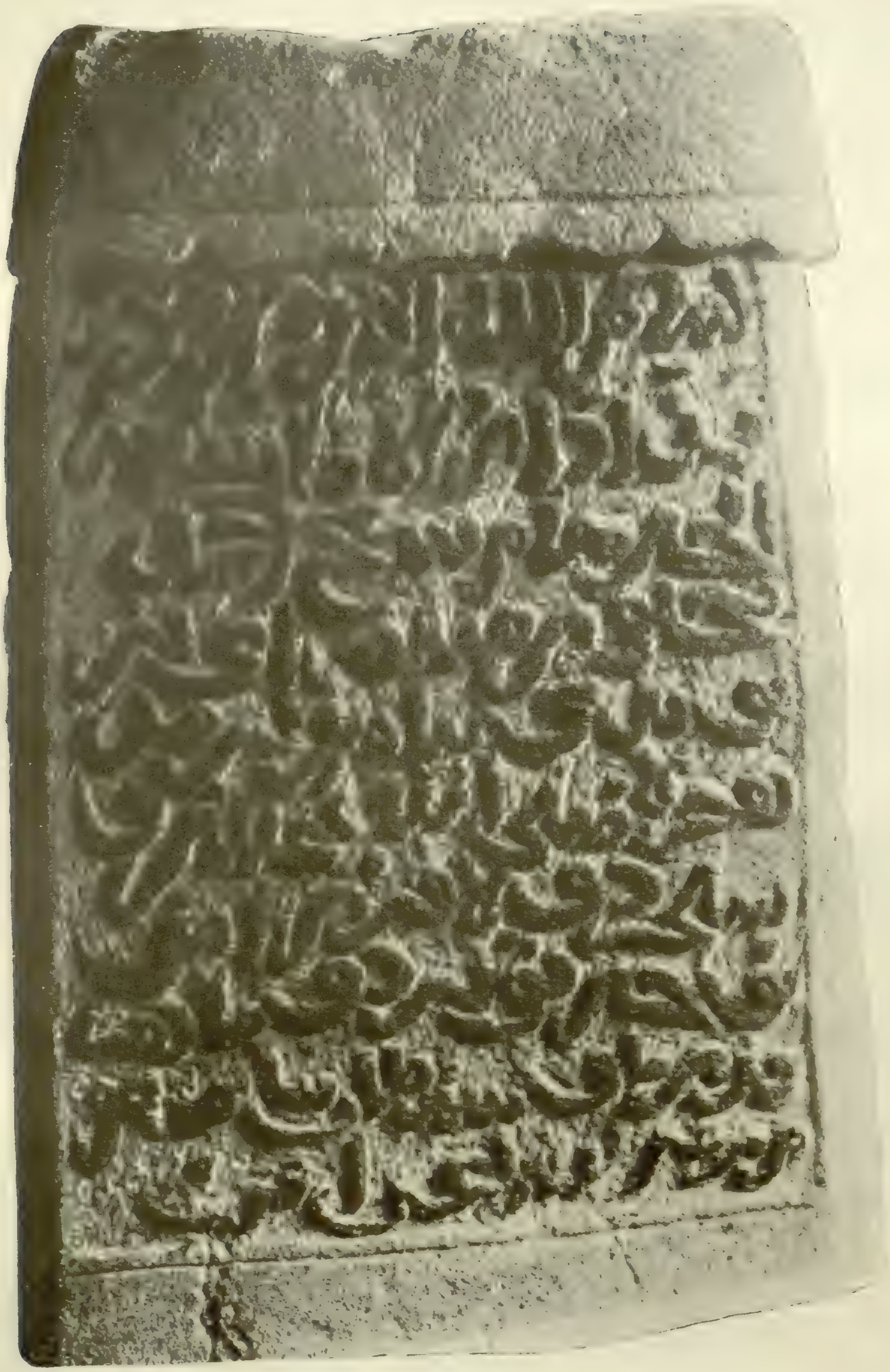
C. BODEN KLOSS, PHOTO.

PENGKALEN KEMPAS TOMBSTONE, SOUTH SIDE.



C. BODEN KLOSS, PHOTO.

PENGKALEN KEMPAS TOMBSTONE, EAST SIDE.



C. BODEN KLOSS, PHOTO.

PENGKALEN KEMPAS TOMBSTONE, WEST SIDE.

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By IVOR H. N. EVANS, M.A.

(Plates XVI & XVII).

This paper is the result of ten days' work among the Negritos of the Ulu Selama Parish of Perak, whom I visited for the second time in April, 1921. I have given an account of my first visit in a former number of this *Journal* (Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 1–15) and what I record here should be read in conjunction with what I wrote previously. With this end in view, I have kept the same sectional arrangement as in the other paper. The Ulu Selama Negritos, the Kintak Bong, unfortunately suffered severely in the influenza epidemic of 1918, and the present headman told me that altogether twenty-seven died, mostly at Mahang in Kedah. There are now, according to the headman's statement, rather over fifty Kintak Bong left, most of these being, at the time of writing, in Kedah, while the remainder—nineteen in all—are living at Lubok Tapah, a Malay village about three miles distant from Kuala Bayor.

The headman of the Kintak Bong at Lubok Tapah, known to the Malays as Jarom (needle), but to his own people as Mĕmpĕlam (mango) was my chief informant, but a very useful chorus of Negritos was usually present when I was taking my notes, and the members of it did not hesitate to interrupt him when he made mistakes.

On my former visit Tōkeh,[1] a Menik Kaien, from whom I got most of my information, gave me a list of some of the Negrito groups and their places of residence. With much of this information Jarom agreed, but in some cases he said that Tōkeh was incorrect. He agreed that the Menik Lanoh lived at Lenggong, Sumpitan and Kuala Kenering,[2] the Menik Gul[3] at Ijok, Selama Sub-District, the Menik Jehai at Tadoh, Kelantan, and the Menik Kensieu at Baling and Siong, Kedah, but he said that Tokeh's statement with about the Menik Kaien was incorrect with regard to the

---

[1] Still alive. Now at Ijok, Selama Sub-District. He has been with me in Taiping for three days since this paper was written. Certain fresh information is embodied in the foot-notes, with his name and the year (1921) appended.

[2] These places are in Upper Perak.

[3] According to Mĕmpĕlam. Menik Gul is the name given to the Ijok people by the Menik Kaien. The Kintak Bong name for them is Bianok. Tōkeh (1921) says that the original home of the Menik Gul was around Titi Ijok, on the road from Taiping to Selama.

extent and situation of their territory. The Menik Kaien, he told me, used to range from the neighbourhood of Batu Kurau to Bruas, and though their name, Kaien, is the same as the Negrito name of the Krian River, they never had any connection with this stream.[1]

The Menik Kaien are now reduced, according to Mĕmpĕlam, to two persons of pure (?) blood, Tōkeh and his brother. The former has a Lanoh wife and one child by her. Tōkeh's story of there being Menik Kaien on the Ayer Sauk and in the Ulu Krian needs further investigation. The Ijok Negritos, the Menik Gul, appear to have been much reduced by a former epidemic of small-pox.[2] According to Mĕmpĕlam there are now less than ten of them left.[3]

Mĕmpĕlam supplemented the tribal names given to me by Tōkeh, to some extent. He told me that the Grik[4] Negritos were called Menik Semnam, and those of Bĕlukar Semang, in Kedah, Menik Hangat. In the neighbourhood of the Kupang River in Kedah he said there were Kintak[5] as well as some Kensieu. The Kintak may, perhaps, be equivalent to the Menik Yup, mentioned by my Menik Kaien informant. Mĕmpĕlam said that he did not know of any such group.[6] Other tribal names mentioned by him were the Mengos, said to live near Lanih[7] in Kelantan, the Menik Tiong also in that State. He also referred to several Perak Semang-Sakai hill groups, one of which at any rate, is probably apochryphal: these were the Menik Lalik (Ulu Temengor hills), Menik Chubak[8] (Ulu Piah), the Pleh, and the Batak.[9]

---

[1] His statement is now confirmed by Tōkeh (1921). He must have been mistaken in what he told me before.

[2] Information from Mĕmpĕlam. Tōkeh (1921) says that there are many Menik Kaien in Upper Perak, but they have been assimilated to the Lanoh and speak their dialect. There are eight Menik Kaien at Ijok.

[3] Journal of the F.M.S. Museums, Vol. V, p. 185. Messrs. Robinson and Kloss state in their paper on the "Semang Paya of Ijok" that the group is "rapidly approaching extinction." Mĕmpĕlam has seen the plates of Negritos appended to their paper, and, out of nine persons recognised—many are shown more than once—he has identified six as being Lanoh, two as Kintak Bong, and one old man, now dead, as a Menik Kaien; none as Menik Gul (=Semang Paya=Bianok). As far as I can make out, only ten, or possibly eleven, individuals were photographed. Tōkeh (1921) says that there is only one Menik Gul, a woman, left. She lives at Pantai Besar and has married a Chinese convert to Mohamedanism, by whom she has three children.

[4] In Upper Perak.

[5] These are not the same as the Kintak Bong, Ulu Selama Negritos.

[6] A group may have more than one name, a name given to itself by itself, and one or more given to it by other groups. *Vide supra* Bianok and Menik Gul (foot-note). Tōkeh now (1921) denies having mentioned any group called Menik Yup. He says that he knows Yup as a woman's name, but not as that of a tribe.

[7] I cannot find Lanih on the map, but there is a Lanah River not far from Tadoh.

[8] *Chubak* means a hill.

[9] The Batak of Sumatra are charged with being cannibals. Probably confused stories about them have been transferred to some existent, or maginary, tribe.

The last are said to dwell around the head-waters of the Plus. They are cannibals and dwell in burrows in the ground. Neighbouring tribes, according to Mĕmpĕlam, make offerings to them by pushing live babies down their burrows.

I think that it may be as well to point out here that, in doing pioneer work among the Negritos, it is nearly impossible to avoid making a few mistakes, even when information is carefully checked.

At Lubok Tapah, and at the Damak River, in 1918, I was lucky to meet two exceptionally intelligent men, Mĕmpĕlam and Tōkeh, and, had it not been for them, the result of my work would probably have been very meagre, since the majority of the Negritos are, I think, neither very well informed with regard to the traditions of their people, nor capable of communicating what knowledge they have.

It is generally necessary to extract information about any one subject piecemeal, for the Negritos easily become tired with mental efforts, and, when in this condition, are worse than useless, as they will then say the first thing that comes into their heads.

A good deal of difficulty is met with in taking down words correctly. The first part of many words is often given loudly and clearly, but the voice trails off towards word-ends and this leads to the recorder being uncertain about last syllables.

Another source of trouble is that, when a Negrito is asked to translate a word into Malay, he will, sometimes, not give the meaning of the word itself, but that of some other word which he connects with it in his mind.

The Negrito Gods.

I have written a good deal with regard to the Negrito gods in my former paper. With reference to Tapern, the chief of them, there appears to be a possibility that Skeat was right in dividing his name into Ta' (*Tak*, grandfather) Pern, [1] and that my (1918) informant was wrong in speaking of Tak Tapern, but as, on the present occasion, Mĕmpĕlam only told me that Tapern was equivalent to grandfather Pern after I had told him what Skeat had said, I am still uncertain about the matter and, therefore, retain my old spelling. Tapern, as pronounced by the Kintak Bong, certainly sounds like one word.

The evidence that I obtained about some of the deified Negrito ancestors from Mĕmpĕlam differs in some respects from

---

[1] As a matter of fact Skeat gives Ta' Pönn, which may very likely be correct for the Siong people, from whom he got his information, but is not so for the Kintak Bong. Vaughan Stevens has 'Tappern" which is much nearer my spelling. It is known that he worked in Ulu Selama region.

Tōkeh (1921) confirms what he said before. He tells me that Tapern is one word and that it is not correct to speak of Tak Tapern.

that of Tōkeh, especially in the matter of the relationships between the males and the females. After a somewhat lively discussion with the "chorus" he produced the following scheme of relationships. As discussion was necessary, it must be taken that the Negritos are not very certain about the matter themselves. The Kintak Bong claim that, though the other tribes reverence these beings, they are their ancestors. Here is the relationship scheme:—

Tang-ong and Yak Manoid are husband and wife. Their children are Tapern and Jalang. Tak Tinjeg and Yak Lepeh are husband and wife. Their children are Bajiaig and Jamoi. Jamoi is the wife of Tapern. Jalang is the wife of Bajiaig. Tokeh's account makes Jalang the wife of Tapern, and Jamoi the wife of Bajiaig, Bajiaig being Tapern's younger brother, while Yak Lepeh is the mother of Jalang, and Yak Manoid is the mother of Jamoi. Kukak is the father of Tapern, while his mother is Yak Takel. Possibly the truth is that both stories are correct, for Tokeh was a Menik Kaien, and may be following Menik Kaien tradition.[1]

According to the Kintak Bong there is also another Yak (grandmother). Her name is Yak Kalcheng: she is, I believe, the grandmother of Tapern,[2] and it was she who made the four boards in the heavens, over which the thunder-stone rolls at Tapern's command. Yak Kalcheng was carried up to the sky by Taheum,[3] the dung-beetle, because she was very old and could not walk.[4] Tang-ong, the father of Tapern, did not go to heaven with the other ancestors, but remained below upon the earth.

I have spoken in my previous paper of the three grandmothers who live under the earth. The Kintak Bong confirmed what had been told me previously by Tōkeh, but substituted the name of Yak Kalcheng for that of Yak Takel. It is these grandmothers who make the waters rise from under the earth, causing *Henweh*, and Tanong (the dragonfly) carries the message from Tapern to Yak Manoid when people have committed some impious act and incurred this punishment. In this connection Mĕmpĕlam supplemented my information with regard to the blood-offering made by Negritos when a bad storm arises, stating that before the blood is thrown upward, as described in my former paper, a little is poured downwards to the earth for the benefit of the "grandmothers," the person who makes the offerings saying, "*Un Yak Kalcheng, Yak Manoid, tembun ajer nteng chuchok Chapor, Chalog chigiog*

[1] Tōkeh (1921) confirms the relationship of the younger generation of heavenly beings (Tapern, Bajiag, Jalang and Jamoi) as given previously, but says that those of the elder group are uncertain.

[2] This point was not made clear.

[3] This word should be spelt as above, and not Tahum, as in my former paper, *q.v.* "The Creation of the World."

[4] Could not walk presumably, up the ladder of blow-pipe darts which Tapern made.

nteng Tapern pi-weg kaii pek-kid[1] *beteu*!'' This is, I think, fairly correctly translated as follows: "Yak Kalcheng, Yak Manoid, come up *and* give advice *to the* ears *of your* grandchildren Chapor *and* Chalog *to* relate *to the* ears *of* Tapern *that he should* make go back *the* thunder to *the* roots[1] *of the* waters."

In my former paper I have referred to the Chinoi, whom Tapern uses as messengers. From Mĕmpĕlam I got a good deal of fresh information with regard to these beings. They are both male and female, and have many occupations. The female Chinoi use different words from those of the ordinary Kintak Bong dialect, and the males sometimes copy them. They bind their heads with the fibre of a creeper called by them *chingchong*. This is the same as that which the Kintak Bong call *awih ehyim* (*akar jinĕrok* of the Malays).[2] Among the beings who come to the shaman during a séance are many Chinoi, including, as will be seen from the lines chanted by him, which I give below, the Chinoi Sagar who lives on the bridge over which the dead pass to Belet, the *Barau*-bird Chinoi, the Argus pheasant Chinoi. In the songs, too, are mentioned a male Chinoi, Menlus, who plays the Jew's-harp to Yak Kalcheng, the Screw-palm Chinoi, Langyau (a male Chinoi who lives near Ligoi), the Tepus-plant Chinoi, the Chinoi who lives near the Tang-al of the Batu Herem, and others.

Mĕmpĕlam gave me some interesting details with regard to the Mat Chinoi. He said that a large snake—the Mat Chinoi—lives on the road to Tapern's house on a piece of carefully smoothed ground. The snake is two fathoms long and ten cubits in circumference. This snake makes long, many-layered mats for Tapern. Some, ornamented with beautiful patterns, it hangs over a cross-beam, and it is under the shelter of these that it lives. Inside the snake are twenty or thirty female Chinoi of great beauty and also beautiful combs, head-dresses, etc.

Now there is a male Chinoi called Halak Gihmal[3] who lives on the back of the snake, and looks after the clothes and ornaments which are stored inside it. If a male Chinoi asks to go into the snake, Halak Gihmal tells him to make trial of the mats first. There are seven of these mats, hanging over a beam above the snake, and these are always opening and closing. When the male Chinoi tries to pass along the passage under them, they close on him, so that, unless he runs very quickly, he gets caught. If he manages to get through the mats safely he is told to enter a tobacco-box[4] of which the lid opens and closes rapidly. If he is lucky enough

---

1 Literally "anus," "bottom." Pagan Races, p. 515, A 118. Tōkeh (1921) says that *kid yihuk* means the bottom of a tree, including the roots.

2 *Vide* "Musical Performances,"

3 Shaman.

4 The kind which *Malays* call *chĕlĕpa*. This is generally watch-shaped.

to make a safe entrance and escape—he leaves by another way—he is allowed to choose one of the female Chinoi who live in the snake for himself.

The Stone which supports the Heavens.

I have mentioned previously that the top part of this stone is said to be loose, and balanced on the lower portion at an angle. This loose piece of the *Batu Herem* is called *Lambong*.[1] Yak Kalcheng, Yak Manoid and Yak Lepeh guard the roots of the *Batu Herem* beneath the earth.

The Chinoi are said to play in the dark region called *Ligoi* which surrounds the *Lambong*.

The Rainbow: Rain.

In my former paper the name of the rainbow snake, or rather snakes, for there are two of them, was incorrectly spelt *Hwiak* instead of *Huyak*.

Rain, according to the Kintak Bong, is caused by a stone flower called *Jampun* which grows in the sky. There is water in the flower, and, when it turns downwards, the water falls from it as rain: when it turns upwards the weather is dry. A Chinoi, Liren, guards the flower.

The abode of the Dead and their Journey to it.

I have mentioned in my previous paper the bridge over which the souls of the dead pass to *Belet*. The name of this bridge should be corrected, it is *Balan Bacham*, not *Balam Bacham*. *Bacham* is, my informant told me, a fern which the Malays call *paku ular* (*Blechnum orientale*).[2] This plant grows at the further end of the bridge and with it the ghosts wreathe their heads before entering Belet.

A female Chinoi, called Chinoi Sagar, lives at the Belet end of the bridge, and wreathes her head with the *Bacham* plant. When the sun rises the bridge lies true, but when it falls, the end of the bridge on which the Chinoi Sagar lives is raised.

Burial Customs.

According to my Kintak Bong informant, Mĕmpĕlam, the ghosts of the newly dead, before they undertake the journey to *Belet*, are sometimes heard near the new camp to which the survivors have moved. They say, "*Yah, Yah, Yah,*" and "*Yebok, Yebok, Yebok.*" When they say, "*Yah, Yah, Yah,*" they mean that they are going away, and when they say, "*Yebok, Yebok, Yebok,*" they want water.

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[1] Tōkeh tells me (1921) that Tapern and Bajiaig go every morning to see the Chinoi play and fight above the Lambong.

[2] *Vide* Wilkinson's Dictionary, "*paku.*"

The description of the position of the corpse in the grave, which I obtained in 1918, seems quite correct. Mĕmpĕlam told me that the head points to *Belet*, that is about north-west,[1] with the face looking towards the setting sun. The body lies on its right side with the knees drawn up.

No articles of iron must be placed on, or in, graves or a tiger will come and eat the bodies. Iron is credited with smelling musty[2] and thus attracting tigers. Brass pots, too, must not be put with the corpse for the same reason. Food is placed in the grave near the head of the dead person.

The only correction that appears to be necessary in what I wrote in my previous paper under the present heading is that *tangkel datim* should be read instead of *telak dateng* and *tangkel dawit* for *telak dawit*.

With regard to the three little wooden objects placed on graves, which I described as being like tip-cats, the Kintak Bong told me that these are tiger talisman's (*tangkel teiok*), which keep these animals away from graves.

Four small pieces of wood, which I also mentioned as being placed in the under side of the thatch of the grave-hut as warnings to the spirit not to return to its home, are, according to the Kintak Bong, called *tangkel kemoit*, ghost talismans.

The bullroarer, of which I obtained a specimen at Lubok Tapah, is used as a toy by Kintak Bong children, but Mĕmpĕlam told me that is the ghosts' Jew's-harp.[3]

The Shaman.

I have set down a good deal of information about the shaman (*halak*) in my former paper, and I cannot add here much new with regard to his methods of procedure, but I have now been able to take down a considerable number of the chants which are sung in the medicine-hut (*panoh*) by the principal performer, and repeated by those outside. I have previously given the titles of a few of those.

At Lubok Tapah, through the good offices of the headman of the Kintak Bong, I induced a *halak* named Piseng,[4] to give a magical performance. The *panoh* was built by women one afternoon, and the séance took place the same night. Mĕmpĕlam, the headman, sat beside me the whole time and gave me the words of the songs as they were sung, and I immediately took them down to the best of my ability. With Mĕmpĕlam, Piseng and other Negritos, I afterwards corrected what I had written and obtained Malay translations from them of the different fragments.

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1 *Vide* foot-note to page 6 of my previous paper.

2 Malay *hanyir*.

3 The Semang—also the Malay—Jew's-harp is made of bamboo or palm wood. The Malay name for the instrument is *gĕnggong*.

4 "Banana," *pisang* in Malay.

Probably some mistakes still remain, especially in the English versions, as it is extremely hard to get the Negritos to give word-for-word translations, and even when they attempt to give the general sense of a phrase or sentence they are not unusually incorrect. Still I have taken a considerable amount of trouble to insure accuracy and I think that any mistakes that remain are, probably, not serious.

During a séance the *halak* is possessed by many spirits, nearly all Chinoi, these speak through him in the snatches of songs which he sings. I have indicated in each case the sex of the Chinoi who is supposed to be speaking, and, in some, have given their names and their occupations.

Mĕmpĕlam told me that the appearance of the *halak* become changed[1] when he is in the *panoh*.

I cannot add much to what I have already written with regard to the actual performance. The singing of the women and children, who squatted outside the *panoh*, and took up the chants given out by the *halak*, was both musical and sweet. The antics of the *halak* while hidden from sight within the *panoh* are worth alluding to. Sounds of grunting, whistling, growling, shouting, singing, chest-beating, and slapping with the hands on the walling, proceeded from the inside before the *halak* began his chants under the inspiration of the Chinoi.

The following are the songs together with attempted word-for-word and free translations:—

Junkeh,	*'Rem,*	*tabek'*	*laweh!*	*yek*	*gantong*
Head	Herem,	salutations	head!	I	hang
(a cross-beam)			*chebelhat.* moment.		
Sakan	*gantong*	*dadak*	*'Rem.*		
Big	hang	breast	*Herem.*		

Salutations to your head! I will hang yet a moment on the cross-timber of the *Batu Herem*. Swollen I hang on the breast of the *Herem*.

The word *sakan* is said to be peculiar to the Chinoi language. It is a female Chinoi who is speaking.

Yam	*bedlat*	*keping*	*Tapern;*
I	go	above	Tapern;
Jagat	*pengweurng*	*Yak*	*Tanggoi.*
Giddy (?)	house (hut)	grand-mother	Rambutan.

[1] His face shines (Tōkeh, 1921).

[2] *Tabek* is a Malay term of salutation. In the sense of "I ask your pardon," it is frequently used when some one is about to do an action which may be considered rude. The *Chinoi* asks for pardon for hanging above the head of its father, the *halak*. The head is, of course, the most sacred part of the body.

Dahar	*menulang*	*keh,*	*menulang* [1]
Where	head-dress	my,	head-dress
	bekau?		
	flowers?		

"I go above Tapern's (house); giddy at the house of Yak Tanggoi. Where is my head-dress of flowers?" It is a female Chinoi who is speaking. *Yam* is said to be a Chinoi word.

Tabek	*kuie,*[2]	*eh!*	*yek, yek*	*gantong*
Salutations	head	father!	I, I	hang
	sa'bentai [3]			
	a moment.			

"Salutations to your head, father! I, I shall hang yet a moment." It is a male Chinoi who is speaking.

Eh,	*tongkah*	*dai* [4]	*keling-tek.*
Father,	come up	from	under-earth.

"Father, I ask your leave to come up from under the earth." It is a male Chinoi who is speaking.

Tagok,	*liwon*	*langkah*	*litol*	*chenib*	*yek.*
Old man,	wander (?)	step	bachelor	affairs	I

The sense is, I believe, "I, an old man, wish to go in search of my affairs." It is the tiger-spirit of the *halak* who is speaking.

Lohmon	*piyudau* [5]	*maloh*	*menulang.*
What (?)	hold magical performance	where (?)	head-dress?

"How shall we hold a magical performance, if I have no head-dress?" It is a female Chinoi who is speaking.

Lel,	*keh*	*gantong*	*lamun*	*H'rem.*
Spinning,	I	hang	end	*Herem.*

"Spinning, I hang from the end of the *Herem.*" It is a female Chinoi who is speaking.

[1] *Cf.* the Malay *bulang ulu*, "the head cloth of a raja," *menulang* "to enwrap."

[2] *Kuie* is the ordinary word for head, *laweh* is probably Chinoi language.

[3] The Negrito form of the Malay *sa' bĕntar.*

[4] The Negrito form of the Malay word *dĕri.* The letter *r* is a shibboleth to the Kintak Bong.

[5] Equivalent to the Malay word *bĕrsewang*, "to hold a spiritualistic once accompanied by singing.

Tulis	*galun*,[1]	*lel*,	*keh*	*gantong*	*lamun*
Plaiting	girdle,	spinning,	I	hang	end
H'rem.	*Halak*,	*leloi*,		*tabek*	*laweh !*
Herem.	*Halak*,	throw up,		salutations	head !

" Plaiting a girdle, spinning, I hang at the end of the *Herem*. Salutations to your head ! *Halak*, I am throwing up my head-dress !" It is a female Chinoi who is speaking.

Pau	*wer-chet*,[2]	*tabek*	*laweh*,	*eh*,	*yek*
Open (?)	Come down (?),	salutations	head,	father,	I
		gantong.			
		hang.			

" When it opens, I come down. Salutations to your head ! father, I hang !" It is a male Chinoi who is speaking. The reference to " opening " is, I believe, to a hole in the end of the *Batu Herem* which opens and shuts.

Lel,	*lel*	*bayang-baju*	*pantai*
Spinning,	spinning	sunset glow	shore
		Sengak.	
		Sengak River.	

" Spinning, spinning in the sunset glow on the shore of the Sengak River." It is the tiger spirit of the *halak* which is speaking.

Eh,	*eh*,	*lungkan*	*balan*	*chibeh.*
Father,	father,	climb	bridge	rising sun.

" Father, father, I have climbed the bridge of the rising sun." It is a Chemam, a spirit of the " middle air," who is speaking. The sun appears to pass along a bridge after coming out of the passage under the earth.

Bedlad	*bĕsangit*	*on-on*	*on-on.*
Go (?)			
Open (?)	door (?)	come-out	come-out.

I am very uncertain about the whole of the above line. I find that, in another place, Mĕmpĕlam gave me " go " for the meaning of *bedlad* ; here however he translated it as

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[1] *Vide* remarks with reference to *galun*, *infra*, p. 204 and also the form *Kalun* on the same page.

[2] Tōkeh (1921) would translate *pau* " noise like clapping " *wer* " turning," *chet* " arrive."

"open." The meanings given for the other words are also suspect. A possible free translation is, "I go from the door, and come out, come out."[1] It is a Chemam who is speaking.

Bitul	*yek*	*kelel,*	*lel,*	*lel!*
Go straight	I	spin,	spin,	spin!

Yek	*bitul,*	*yek*	*kelel,*	*lel,*	*lel!*
I	go straight,	I	spin,	spin,	spin!

"I go straight, I spin, spin, spin! I go straight, I spin, spin, spin!" It is the tiger spirit of the *halak* which is speaking.

Lohmon	*pideh,*	*guruk,*[2]	*baleh*	*Chinoi.*
Why	call,	interpreter,	maiden	Chinoi

"Why do you call me, a maiden Chinoi, O interpreter?" It is a female Chinoi who is speaking. The females use words not found in the everyday language of the Kintak Bong Negritos, and the males sometimes copy them.

Miwoh	*mutau,*	*yek,*	*baleh.*
Laugh loudly	hill-top,	I,	virgin.

"I, a virgin, laugh loudly on the hill-tops."[3] It is the Chinoi Kawang (Argus Pheasant Chinoi) who is speaking. She is female.

Baleh,	*lareh*	*tupar*	*lindong.*
Virgin,	moon	fly	fluttering.

"I, a virgin, fly fluttering by moonlight."[4] The same Chinoi is speaking. *Lareh* is the Chinoi word for "moon."

Deh,	*Deh,*	*Deh.*

This has no meaning according to Mĕmpĕlam. Said by one of the Jaman, were-tigers, who live with the *Yak* (grandmothers) at the base of the *Batu Herem.* There are many Jaman. This one, I was informed, is sitting at the "Rice Stone" near the *Batu Herem* towards where the sun falls.

Amboi,	*Amboi,*	*ayah*	*kami!*
"Oh,	Oh,	father	ours!

This line is in Malay. It is a Jaman who is speaking.

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[1] Tōkeh (1921) says that it should read, "*Bedlad* (go) *bĕsangit* (buzzing) *un-un* (that that) *un-un* (that that)." "I go buzzing there, there.'

[2] A variant of the Malay word *guru* (?) "teacher."

[3] Tōkeh (1921) however, would translate *mutau* as "moving the head up and down."

[4] Tōkeh (1921) gives *lareh* "owl," *tĕpar* (*sic*) "branch," *lindong* "hide.' There is a Malay word *lindong* which has the same meaning.

Malok[1] *menulang* *yek?*
What
Where head-dress mine?

This either means "With what shall I bind my head?" or "Where is my head-dress?"—I think the latter is probably correct. It is a female Chinoi who is speaking.

Dordoi wai haiyah,[2] *eh loie.* *Tabek* *laweh*
Sit open *bertam,* father mine. Salutations head,
arah *menulang!*
pass head-dress!

"I sit opening *bertam*-palms, O father mine. Salutations to your head, on my head-dress passing you!" It is a male, a *Bertam*-palm Chinoi who is speaking. He asks his father (the *halak*) to pardon him for throwing his head-dress in front of him.

Malok *menulang,* *guruk?* *Babeh*
Where
What head-dress, interpreter? Newly-married
Tapern *magiseh.*
Tapern go round.

"Where is my head-dress, interpreter? I, newly-married, go round Tapern." It is a male Chinoi who is speaking.

Jinung *reng* *chenerkem* *un,* *eh,* *loie!*
Carve slit comb that, father mine!

"Carve and slit a comb for me, O father mine!" It is a male Chinoi who is speaking.

Pau *wer-chet*[3] *kejuh* *barau.*[4]
From inside (?) come down (?) young male *barau*

The sense of the line is, "From inside comes down a young male *barau.*" It is a *Barau*-bird Chinoi which is speaking

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Bum *Chinoi* *Tapern* *magiseh.* *Yeh* *chub*
We Chinoi Tapern go round. I go
pek keping.
above.

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[1] *Cf. Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 755, "What" (Mal. *apa*): *malo*, Sak. Kerb.

[2] Tōkeh (1921) does not agree with Mĕmpĕlam's translations of *dordoi* and *hayah*. He says that the latter is the kind of musical instrument which the Malays call *gĕndang batak*. I would get no translation of the former.

[3] *Vide* foot-note *supra*.

[4] The *Barau* is the Yellow Crowned Bulbul (*Trachycomus ochreocephalus*).

"We Chinoi go round Tapern. I go above." It is a male Chinoi who is speaking.

Lohmon	*pideh,*	*guruk,*	*baleh,*	*kijing,*
What	call,	interpreter,	virgin,	hear,
Chelchem	*bulin*	*Chelchem*	*terjun*	*papan*
Chelchem	back to	*Chelchem*	plunge down	plank
		taseg?		
		lake?		

"Why do you call me, a virgin, going from *Chelchem* and back to *Chelchem* to plunge down to earth?" It is a male Chinoi who is speaking. *Chelchem*, Mĕmpĕlam told me, is a place below Tapern's house which opens and shuts.

Sa'bidang	*yek*	*tulis*	*gampil*	*Yak*
One sheet	I	plait	mat	Grandmother
Jalang,	*yek*	*deng.*		
Jalang,	I	see.		

"I will plait a mat for Yak Jalang, I see (*i.e.* in a little while)." It is a male Chinoi who is speaking.

Un,	*un*	*deh,*	*bidang,*[1]	*kadeng*	*deh!*
There,	there	it,	sheet,	see	it!

"There, there it is, the mat, see it!" A male Chinoi is speaking.

Bedlat	*menulang,*	*tabek*	*laweh,*	*kadeng*	*deh!*
Going	head-dress,	salutations	head,	see	it!
Chinoi	*mak*	*sinlin.*			
Chinoi	will	replace.			

"My head-dress is going past you, salutations to your head, see it! This Chinoi, your slave, will replace it." A female Chinoi is speaking.

Ha	*menulang*	*keh;*	*yah*	*baleh?*
Where	head-dress	mine;	your	maiden?

"Where is my head-dress, the head-dress of your maiden? It is a female Chinoi who is speaking.

Eh,	*rampus*	*ingat*[2]	*sunting*[2]	*Chinoi*
Father,	take	remembrance	hair ornaments	Chinoi
		palah	*nilam.*	
		shoots	indigo	

[1] A Malay numeral coefficient, *sa'bidang tikar;* one mat.
[2] Malay words.

"O father, do not forget hair ornaments for the Chinoi, shoots of the indigo-plant." A male Chinoi is speaking.

Kalun *yek*, *babeh*, *penangkan*
Waist-cord I, married woman, shoulder-cloth
gihmal.
weapons.

"I, a married woman, wear a waist-cord, shoulder-cloth and weapons." A female Chinoi is speaking.

Ibeh *jinoring* *galun.*
Turn (?) enter rattan loop.

"Turn and enter the rattan loop." *Galun*, I was told means rattan, but the ordinary Negrito word for this is *awih*. Probably the truth is that *galun* is equivalent to the Malay word *gĕlong*, a rattan loop. Reading *galun* as equivalent to *gĕlong* makes good sense, as it is a rattan skipping-rope[1] to which reference is here made.

Oi *minyun*, *yam* *bulang* *menulang*
I (?), shaking I wreathe head-dress
up and down,
bacham.
ferns.

"I, shaking the bridge up and down, I wreathe my head with a head-dress of ferns." It is the Chinoi Sagar, a female, who is speaking. She lives, as I have related above, at the far end of the *Balan Bacham*. She says that while making the bridge of the dead, the *Balan Bacham*, spring up and down, she wreathes her head with the *Bacham*-plants which grow near it.

Yek, yek ensol, yek tenbon sigalak[2] *galong.*[3]
I, I ashamed, I leap every cross-beam.

[1] The Negritos seem to be fond of skipping with two persons turning the rope, and one jumping, and I saw them thus amusing themselves on several occasions. Skipping is now known among Malay school-children, but those Malays that I have consulted, so far, consider that it is a recently introduced game. I do not know whether it is native to the Negritos, but they are of course in close contact with the Malays and would copy anything which pleased them. Reference to skipping in chants connected with religion looks, however, rather as if the pastime was native.

Tōkeh (1921) says that there is a *nibeh manau*, a skipping-rope of *rotan manau*, under the *Balan Bacham*.

[2] The Malay *sĕgala*, all, every.

[3] The Malay *galang*, a cross-beam, a roller.

"I, I am ashamed as I leap on every cross-beam." It is a Chinoi Ai who is speaking. The *Ai* is the species of leaf monkey which is called *Presbytes neglecta keatii*.

Un, un, eh keh, sa' bidang, un,
That, that, father mine, one sheet, that,
eh loie, sa' bidang!
father mine, one sheet!

"That, that one sheet is for you, my father; that one sheet, my father!" It is the Chinoi Tikar, the Mat Chinoi, who is speaking. Some details about the mat-weaving snake will be found in a previous section.

At the end of the performance, when the *Halak* was supposed to be again becoming conscious of his surroundings, he said, "*Betud amed*[1] *penet*[2] *dikeh*," "very long is my tiredness."

The Bird-Soul.

I have alluded to the *Til-tol-tapah*, the bird which announces a coming birth, in my former paper. While at Lubok Tapah I heard a bird of this species calling on several occasions, but did not see it. The Negrito name for the bird is much more suitable than that of the Malays (*kangkang katup*)—both names are onomatopoeic. The notes are repeated a great number of times. The Negritos stated that the bird was large[3] and dark coloured with white specklings "like a bead necklace" on the breast.

The *Chimioi* (*Chim-oi* of my previous paper) has now been identified by Mĕmpĕlam from the bird collection in the Perak Museum as the Yellow-crested Sultan Tit (*Melanochlora flavicristata*). Mĕmpĕlam said that he thought this was the same as the *Sagwong* a bird whose note, according to Tōkeh, it is tabu to imitate, owing to fear of *Henweh*.[4]

A Social Tabu.

A woman may not address, or pass in front of, her father-in-law; she may not speak to him, and her shadow must not fall on him. One day, when I was giving some tobacco to the Negritos, I called one of the women, Semeh, to come into my tent and take her share. She replied that she could not, as her father-in-law was sitting inside, and, in order to reach me, she would have to pass in front of him. The father-in-law then got up and changed his position in the

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[1] Equivalent to the Malay word *amat*.
[2] Equivalent to the Malay word *pĕnat*.
[3] Tōkeh (1921), however, says that he has seen it, and that it s quite small—about the size of a sparrow.
[4] *Vide Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, Vol. IX, p. 10. Tōkeh, however. (1921) has identified the *Sagwong* as the Black and Yellow Broad-bill.

tent, so that the woman could approach me without breaking the tabu.

A man may not speak to his mother-in-law.

The Giving of Names.

There is nothing to add to what I wrote in my former paper under this heading, except some further examples of Negrito names. Among the Kintak Bong, besides Mĕmpĕlam and Piseng whose names I have already explained, there were the following individuals: —

Pai, a female, born at the Tapah River. *Pai* means "irrigation ditch," according to Mĕmpĕlam.
Sidim,[1] born near the Sidim River in Kedah.
Semeh, a female, born near a *kemangi*-shrub (*semeh*).
Kising, a male, born near a *kising*-plant.[2]

Customs and Prohibitions with regard to Marriage.

The Kintak Bong told me that they have no marriage ceremony, not even a feast, as Tōkeh previously stated was the case. There is said to be a small payment made to the bride's relations, from $2 to $10. A man who is a suitor for a girl's hand usually speaks to the girl's father or elder brother. In the event of there being nobody in the camp whom a bachelor can marry, he goes in search of a wife either to another camp of his own people, if there is one, or to that of another tribe. Tōkeh said that marriage between first cousins is prohibited, this may, perhaps, be so among the Menik Kaien, but the statement needs qualifying as far as the Kintak Bong are concerned. The rule is that first cousins may marry, provided that the man is the son of an elder brother or sister; if he is not, they may not marry.

Musical Performances.

While I was at Lubok Tapah, the Negritos, at my request, gave a musical performance. The singing was accompanied by a pair of bamboo stampers, struck on a log of wood by one of the women, and by two pairs of "castanets," pieces of wood or bamboo—such as the Malays call *chĕrachap*—which were beaten, one piece against another, by two of the youths. Singing is called *peningloin*.

As in the case of performance given by the *halak*, I took down the somewhat fragmentary songs on the spot, being aided in this by Mĕmpĕlam, and attempted translations of them afterwards:—

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[1] Sex not obtained.

[2] Probably some species of wild ginger. I was told that it is much like a *tepus*-plant, but has a strong smell.

Eh,	*minyun*	*charah*	*nampak*
Father,	shake up and down	sun-rise	see

berenching.
fiery.

"Father, I shake up and down where the sunrise is seen all fiery." It is a Sunrise Chinoi who is supposed to be speaking.

Minyun,	*yak*	*yah,*	*keh,*
Shaking up and down,	grandmother	mine,	I,

keh *minyun.*
I shake up and down.

Senujak *henial!*
Throw up to above!

"I shake it up and down, grandmother mine, I, your servant, shake it up and down. Throw it upwards!" I am not sure that this translation is correct. Mĕmpĕlam told me that it was a male Chinoi, named Menlus, who was speaking. He plays the Jew's-harp to Yak Kalcheng. In the present instance, I understood, he is supposed to be hanging from the end of Yak Kalcheng's fan, fanning her by springing up and down.

Yek	*keh,*	*minyun*	*lel*
Grandmother	mine,	shake up and down	spin

gantong.
hang.

"Grandmother mine, I shake up and down and spin as I hang." The same Chinoi is supposed to be speaking.

Yek,	*Puyau,*	*menang*	*cherengbung*	*belang*
I,	Basket,	go (?)	plunge down	to

batu	*dadak*	*charah*	*kĕdah*	*Tanggoi.*
stone	breast	sunrise	girl	Tanggoi.

"I, Basket, go, plunge down and stick to the stone at the breast (?) of sunrise, at the house of Tanggoi's girl." It is the Chinoi Puyau, the Basket Chinoi, who is supposed to be speaking. Ehyim is the name of the child of Tanggoi to whom reference is made. She lives near where the sun rises, and plaits herself a nest.

Jerjun	*jeurn (?)*	*klawong.*	*Lel,*
Carry on	your hands	*kenuwak.*	Spinning,

lel, *jerjun*
spinning, carry on your hands

klawang.	*Asal*	*kebeurk*	*klawong.*
kenuwak.	Origin	fruits	*kenuwak.*

"Carry on your hands the *kenuwak* fruit. Spinning, spinning, carry on your hands the *kenuwak*. Origin of fruits is the *kenuwak*." I did not ascertain the name of the Chinoi who is supposed to be speaking.

Minyun,	*menawu*	*tapag,*
Shake up and down,	bending down	leaf pinnae,

ngabag.
chant magical chants.

"Shaking up and down, bending down the leaf pinnae of the palm, I chant magical chants." It is the Chinoi Buyok, the Pandanus,[1] or Screw-palm, Chinoi, who is supposed to be speaking. *Ngabag* is said to be a Chinoi word.

Eh,	*gantong*	*jon*	*perungsi,*	*eh,*
Father,	suspend	spin	turn,	father,

gantong.
suspend.

"Father, suspend, spin and turn (the comb), father, suspend it!" It is the Chinoi Buyok who is supposed to be speaking.

Sibeh[2]	*menang*	*bedlad*	*keping*	*galong*
Attach	thread	go	above	cross-bar
		lel		(bridge)
		spin		

jutkat	*keping*	*chanang*[3]	*yoh*	*belang*[4]
bring down	above	plate	mine	near

Langyau.
Langyau.

No satisfactory translation of the above was obtained, but it may mean something like this:—

"I, Langyau attaching the thread, go above the bridge and spinning bring it down (?) above my plate." It is the Chinoi Langyau, a male Chinoi, who lives near Ligoi, who is speaking. *Chanang* is said to be Chinoi talk.

Yamun	*deng*	*un,*	*yek*	*deng,*	*kasau*
I (?)	see	there,	I	see,	rafter

---

[1] The species of *Pandanus* which the Malays call *mengkuang*.

[2] The Malay word *sangkut*, "to attach" was given as the equivalent of *sibeh*.

[3] *C.f.*, perhaps, the Malay word *chĕnang*, a kind of gong.

[4] Malays, in speaking, often use the word *dĕkat* (near) instead of *hapada* (to).

Tapern. Luntem un yek chek menang belang
Tapern. Jam there I come thread near
batu.
stone.

A satisfactory translation of this was not obtained. The general sense, according to Měmpělam, is, "I want to fix the thread to the stone." An attempted literal translation is, "I see there, I see, the rafters of Tapern's house. I come to fasten (jam) there the thread to (near) the stone." Probably the same Chinoi is supposed to be speaking.

Yĕk chĕtol bĕraleh chintol lubag pĕngĕsel
I thrust place bud *lebak* around
in round ornaments
kĕlingrong[1] *Tapern.*
mortar Tapern

"I will thrust in and place round bud ornaments of the *Lebak*-plant around the mortar of Tapern." It is the Chinoi Behwak, the *Tepus*-plant Chinoi, a female who is supposed to be speaking. She makes wreaths.

Ledsaid bayang charah ketel balan nukau
Scarlet spirit[2] sunrise go bridge house
mak bulang.
want head-dress.

"Scarlet appears the spirit of sunrise and goes to the bridge where there is a house, in search of a head-dress." It is the Chinoi Galong, the Bridge Chinoi, a female, who is supposed to be speaking.

Eh, tantig klawong penlohr[3] *bĕring.*
Father, bring klawong pierce fruit.

"Father bring *klawong* fruits and pierce them (*as charms*)." It is a male Chinoi, called the Chinoi Taneh, who is supposed to be speaking.

Weung[4] *ramen, dedeh,*[5] *weung.*
Winnow body, sieve, winnow.

"I move my body like a winnowing-tray, I sift, I winnow!" It is a female Chinoi, a Flower Chinoi, who is supposed to be speaking.

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[1] According to Tōkeh (1921) *kelingrong* is the ground under a house, as in a Malay dwelling which is raised on piles.

[2] Equivalent to the Malay *mambang*. *C.f.* Malay *bayang*, "shadow."

[3] Used I was told of piercing the nasal septum. This is not a Kintak Bong custom, but is found among the Kĕusieu and other tribes.

[4] According to Měmpělam, the Malay equivalent of the word is *tampi*.

[5] The Malay equivalent of the word is *ayak*.

Eh, *minyun* *balan* *chibeh*
Father, I shake up and down bridge sunrise
pinkoh *lawad,*
mimic song,[1]
juih[2] *kaleh.*
bird lifting wings.

"I shake up and down on the bridge of sunrise; mimicking the song of a bird, lifting up its wings." It is a female Chinoi, a Chinoi Tang-al, who is speaking. She lives near the *Tang-al* of the *Batu Herem.*

Various Beliefs and Customs.

If a hut is to be built in the jungle, a fire is first lighted on the spot chosen. If the smoke from this drifts about without rising, another site must be selected, as, if this is not done, a tiger will raid the occupants of the hut, or they will fall ill with fever.

If the hornbill, which the Negritos call *Kawan malik*[3] is heard at night, it is said that a tiger is coming. The same belief also attaches to the *Kuwangkwcit*[4] when its note is heard after dark.

If a squirrel in a tree falls from it near the sleeping-bench of a shelter, it is a sign that some one will die.

Malays (*Hemik*), blood, jungle leeches and the private parts of a man or woman may not be mentioned when fish are being caught by means of *tuba*[5]-poison. These words are *enlak*, tabu. Women who are expectant may not accompany the fishing party. If these tabus are broken, the poison will have no effect upon the fish.

Folk-Stories.

YAK KAMPEH AND PIAGOK.

Yak[6] Kampeh lived with her son, Piagok, in the Selama District.

Yak Kampeh dreamt one night that she had got a son named Kebeurk Yihuk.[7] The next morning she went out to look for food, and came across a fruit hanging from a tree. She told her son, Piagok, to climb and take the fruit. So Piagok climbed the tree and threw the fruit down into his mother's cloth, which she held to receive it. A sound of

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[1] The Malay equivalent is *suwara.*
[2] Said to be a Chinoi word for "bird."
[3] This is the *Burong mati sa'kawan* of the Malays (*Annorhinus galeritus*).
[4] A goat sucker (Tōkeh, 1921).
[5] *Derris elliptica*, a plant of which the sap is poured into pools in the river to stupify the fish.
[6] Grandmother.
[7] This means "tree fruit."

crying was heard from the cloth, and the fruit opened, and a child was in it.

Another night Piagok dreamt that he met a woman. So on the next morning he set out and really met her. She told Piagok that she wanted armlets (of rattan), Jew's-harps and combs. Piagok went home and made the combs; and on the next day he told his mother to go to the woman's camp, and at night he went there himself and slept with Yak Tanggoi[1]—for that was the woman's name.

The next morning, he went with Homoit, Tanggoi's younger brother, to hunt with his blow-pipe, and, when it was night, they went home. Homoit was carried tied on Piagok's back, above his back-basket, because his waist was only as big as my index finger, and he could not walk: on returning to the hut, his sister released him.

On the day after Piagok went by himself through the jungle to Perak (*i.e.* the Perak River Valley) for five days, and then came back. On his return, he went away again, on the next morning, and shot a pig with his bow. He returned and that night he had an unlucky dream. The next morning he and Yak Tanggoi exchanged leaves of the *Changlun*,[2] agreeing that if their leaves withered they also would be dead.

Then Piagok went on a journey, and he found when he looked at his (Yak Tanggoi's) leaf, that it had shrivelled.

Now after Piagok's departure, Yak Tanggoi had gone to bathe with five other women. The five women pushed her down into the bathing-well and drowned her, because they wanted Piagok for themselves.

Piagok returned and found his wife dead, and wrapped her body in a mat. Then he got an iron pan and heated water. Next he called the five women and said to them, "If you like my body, come and sit here!" They came and sat down near him; whereupon he took the hot water and poured it over them, killing them all. Then there came *Henweh*[3] and the house turned to stone, but Piagok carried Yak Tanggoi's body up to the sky.

Now there was a cousin of Piagok who lived in Perak. His name was To' Taseg and his wife was called Yak Hnileh. To' Taseg being a *halak* (magician) knew about Piagok, and came with his wife to Selama, but his younger cousin (Piagok) had gone to the sky.

To' Taseg seeing that Piagok's house had become a stone, transformed himself into a Chinoi, and entered it, his wife going in first, because he stopped to burn incense.

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[1] Grandmother Rambutan.

[2] A plant which the Malays call *salun*.

[3] Water welling up from under the ground. A disaster caused by an impious act. ***Henweh***, as here, is sometimes accompanied by petrifaction of the offender's house.

Yak Tanggoi came to life in the sky, and when a *halak* performs in a *panoh* ("medicine-hut") Piagok, Yak Tanggoi, Taseg and Yak Hnileh come to him. They have become Chinoi.

TAK CHEMEMPES.

Tak Chemempes one day turned himself into a rhinoceros. A companion of his, who had gone to cut attaps in the jungle, saw him eating the leaves of a tree and went home, got his bow, returned, and shot at him, but Tak Chemempes caught the arrow under his "armpit" (front leg). Then he pretended to be dead, as if he had been killed by the arrow.

The man who had shot at him went back to call his friends to come and cut up the rhinoceros that he had shot. They all went to the place and made themselves shelters near the "dead" rhinoceros. Five children started playing near the rhinoceros while their mothers were building the shelters, and the rhinoceros said to them, "Have you all come here?" and the children answered, "All of us." The children went to their fathers and said, "The rhinoceros asked us if we had all moved here." The fathers said, "Don't speak *minchah*."[1]

Then all the people came together to cut up the rhinoceros, and the rhinoceros got up, became a man, and killed them all, except one man who was only lamed. Then Tak Chemempes said, "Is there any one left?" and the wounded man replied, "There is," so Tak Chemempes killed him too.

Another time Tak Chemempes became a blacksmith, but he made his working-knives of tin. Then he called the people together and gave them knives, and, when they had gone, he went away and became the cabbage of a *Taak*-palm.[2]

Now the people to whom he had sold the working-knives were shifting their camp. They came to the place where Tak Chemempes had become a palm-cabbage, and first one, and then another, climbed the tree to cut out the cabbage, but all were unsuccessful, until a man cut it through with a small knife,[3] and pushed it down, when it rolled into the river and became a soft-shelled turtle.

All the people tried to catch the turtle, but it cut their hands. At last the man who had cut down the palm cabbage went down into the river, caught the turtle, and brought it ashore, when it immediately dug itself into the ground and became an elephant's-head tuber. So they dug

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[1] *I.e.* words which will cause a stomach trouble when the flesh is eaten. *Minchah* is more or less equivalent to the Malay word *mising*, "bad diarrhoea."

[2] The Negrito name for the *Langkap*-palm.

[3] Not one that he had bought from Tak Chemempes.

it up and, preparing a fire, roasted it; and fifteen of the people died of stomach trouble through eating it, and fifteen remained alive.

Then Tak Chemempes became a *toalang*-tree with two or three hundred bees' nests in it. The fifteen people who were left alive came across the *toalang* and made shelters there, so as to take the bees' nests. They made a ladder [1] up the tree so as to reach the nests, and, at night, a man went up carrying a torch [2] and a bailer [3] made of the flowering spathe of a *Bayas*-palm. When he got to the nests, the bees became a man, who cut the climber's throat, and, catching the blood in the bailer, let it down to the people below, saying, "There's lots of honey; the bailer won't hold it all!"

Then he called another man up to help him, and cut his throat too. So he called another, and another, and so on, until eight had been killed. At last the cocks crew, and it was daylight, and Tak Chemempes vanished. But the seven persons who were left saw their dead companions lying under the tree.

Next Tak Chemempes became a crocodile and laid eggs on the shore of a river. A man who had been digging tubers came to the river to wash his hands, and, seeing the eggs, took them home, cooked and ate them. When night came the crocodile followed the man to the camp to which the eggs had been taken. All the people there were asleep, except one man and his wife. These two heard the crocodile coming, and called the men who had eaten the eggs, but could not wake them; so they ran away. Then the crocodile came and ate up all the sleepers.

After this Tak Chemempes became a lizard [4] in a tree near a camp. Whenever he saw anything nice cooking in the camp he came down from the tree, became a man, and got a share by telling the people that he had come from a far-away place. At last a girl followed him, and Tak Chemempes returned to his own shape and carried her off from there.

Then he journeyed until he found some people fishing and tried to persuade them to go to their huts to eat their fish. But the people told him how a certain man, named Tak Taihi, oppressed them by taking their fish, and said that, if he could overcome their oppressor, they would collect fish for him. So

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[1] The kind of ladder which the Malays call *sigai*, long bamboos placed end to end with notches cut in them for foot-rests or with wooden pegs, forming steps, fitted into the notches. Wooden pegs, called *patin*, are also commonly driven into *toalang* trunks to form a ladder when Malays climb for honey.

[2] For lighting his way and for smoking out the bees.

[3] Like the article used for bailing boats. It has a cross-bar. The honey is let down in the bailer.

[4] The species known to the Malays as *Gĕgerok* (*Gecko stentor*). It lives in holes in trees and has a loud and peculiar cry, which is generally heard in the early morning and towards evening.

Tak Chemempes prepared rattan bindings [1] large enough to go round his knees and elbows. Soon came the man who had taken the fish and asked what the bindings were for, and Tak Chemempes replied that they were medicine for pains in his elbows and knees. Tak Taihi asked for them, saying that he also had pains. Tak Chemempes gave them to him, showing him how to put them on with connecting pieces of wood between the elbows and knees. Then, when he was firmly trussed, Tak Chemempes beat him to death, and when the people came back from fishing they heaped together their fish for him.

Next Tak Chemempes bored a hole in a tree buttress, making it sufficiently large for his foot to pass through easily. This hole he stopped with mud, so that it would not be noticed. When he had finished, he called his companions to try if they could kick a hole in a tree buttress, and they said that they would give him all their fish if he was able to do so. His companions tried to kick a hole in a buttress, but could not. Then Tak Chemempes kicked the buttress in the place which he had prepared, and his foot passed through it easily. So his companions brought him their fish.

After about another two or there days his companions stole the girl whom he had brought with him. Tak Chemempes went in search of her, but could not find her: so he returned. He slept for a night, and the next day he discovered the thieves, but not the girl. He said to them, "If you want to become like I am, go and get some bamboos." So they went and got what he told them to fetch, and Tak Chemempes dried the bamboos for two nights over the fire. Then he made knives from the bamboos, and said, "If you want to become Mohamedans (*i.e.* be circumcised,) go and sit above the waterfall. So they went and sat above the waterfall. Tak Chemempes went to their wives and said, "If I am attacked by an evil spirit [2] when I circumcise your husbands, here is medicine to blow over me," [3] —and he gave them some *tios*. [4] So he went to circumcise their husbands. First he called one man, cut off all his genitals, and kicked him down into the river below, then another and so on, till all thirty of them were dead. Then he went back, and the wives asked him when their husbands were coming home, and he replied, "Perhaps to-day or to-morrow." That night he pretended to have an epileptic fit, [5] and all the women came together to blow the medicine over him. Then he beat them all to death.

[1] Of the kind which the Malays call *simpai*.

[2] In Malay "*kĕna badi*"

[3] The Malay *sĕmbor*. Blowing medicine from the mouth, often with water on to the affected part, is a method of treatment frequently resorted to by native practitioners.

[4] *Kunyet tĕrus* in Malay, a kind of tumeric, *Curcuma aromatica* (?).

[5] In Malay "become pig mad," epileptic fits are ascribed to possession by a spirit.

On the next day he started on a journey, and, when a strong wind arose, he heard a sound of loud whistling. He found that the noise was made by two trees, the stems of which crossed one another, and were pushed together by the wind. Tak Chemempes climbed up into the trees and put his hand between them in order to take whatever it was that made the whistling, but his hand was caught between the trunks and there he was held until he died.

Mampes.

Mampes and his wife went from Selama to Perak, and lived there a month. On his return, Mampes found that all his companions had been eaten by tigers; now there were two of these animals.

He told his wife to climb a *jĕrai*-tree. Then he went to the huts where the people had died, and there he found two tigers. The tigers wanted to fight with him, but he stopped them, saying, "Wait a little, and then we will fight. I want to take a thorn out of my foot." He took out the thorn, and then, standing up, called the male tiger to fight. They fought, and Mampes killed the tiger with an arrow. Then he called the female and she, also, was killed in the same way. So Mampes said, "Ah, when I was away you came and killed my mother and my relations, but now you have had to fight with me!" He returned to his wife and called to her to come down. Then he told her how their friends had been killed, and she wept when she heard of it.

After this Mampes went to his father's camp, which was in another place, and told him how his mother and his companions had been eaten by tigers. He lived there for about three months. One day he told two of his companions to make a swing, and, when it was made, he sat in it and swung.

Now there were two women whose husband—they were both married to the same man—was very clever, but pretended to be dumb. Now this "dumb" man, Tak Nin,[1] was really also Mampes, for he had made a double of himself, but of different appearance.

These three, Tak Nin and his two wives, Yak Lunggyait and Penantun, both of whom were *halak*, went to the jungle, Tak Nin taking with him a bow.

They came across a bear up a tree in the jungle and Yak Lunggyait took the bow, placed one end on the ground, strung it, and gave it to Tak Nin, motioning him to shoot. The bear was struck and crouched on the ground, and Yak Lunggyait said, "*Nin deurk kawap*"![2] "Run!" said Nin to his two wives. Then the bear died.

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[1] Tak Nin's footprints, I am told, can still be seen at Ayer Tuna Sidim, Kedah.

[2] "Nin, run from the bear!"

They went back and stopped for two nights at their hut. After this they started out again, and met an elephant, and Tak Nin went by himself and shot at the elephant with his bow, wounding him. The elephant ran away, and, when he had run for about two miles,[1] fell down dead. So Tak Nin went home with his two wives and told his companions about the dead elephant. Next day about twenty of them started off for the place where the elephant was lying. When they arrived, Tak Nin cut open the elephant's head and took the tusks. Then they went home.

Now there was a younger brother-in-law[2] of Tak Nin's. This man was a *halak*, his name was Pas,[3] and he was the ancestor of the Muntjac, for all animals were once men. Tak Nin told him to speak to his (Tak Nin's) mother-in-law,[4] and ask her what he should do with the ivory. So Pas ran off to Tak Nin's mother-in-law's and arrived at night, when, on coming to the entrance of the camp, he stepped on two people who were sleeping there. These two moved to a sleeping bench, which broke under their weight and they were wounded in their backs by the supports of the bench.

Then Pas went straight to his mother's hut, and said, "My elder brother has killed an elephant," telling her to go the next day. The mother-in-law told the father-in-law, and on the following day, he and Pas went to Tak Nin's hut.

The father-in-law took the tusks home with him and kept them for ten days, until a thief, named Keh, came at night and stole them. On the next morning the father-in-law, Tak Kemis, went after the thief and met him on the path. Then Keh put down the tusks and ran away up some rocks, complaining. Tak Kemis shot him with his bow, and he died. This Keh[5] was the ancestor of the goat-antelopes.

Tak Kemis went home with the ivory, but one night another thief climbed up upon the shelf,[6] while five others watched near Tak Kemis's head. The five took the ivory and ran away, while the sixth jumped down from the shelf, spilling the salt into the fire in doing so. Now the five got away safely, but the sixth, Chigchag, broke his thigh between two logs. Tak Kemis found him on the next day and killed him.

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[1] In Malay "*dua batu*," two stones, *i.e.* two miles. The Negritos have learnt to speak of miles from the Malays.

[2] *Adik ipar* in Malay, *i.e.* a brother-in-law who was younger than Tak Nin.

[3] The name means "*kijang*" (*Muntaicus muntjac*).

[4] Tak Nin would be prohibited by Negrito custom from speaking to her himself.

[5] His followers became goat-antelopes (serows). The name Keh, I believe, means serow. Note that Keh tried to escape to the rocks. The serow commonly lives on precipitous limestone cliffs, such as are to be found in many parts of the Peninsula.

[6] Malay *para*. Probably the ivory was kept on a shelf above the hearth. The Negritos do not, however, build sufficient complicated dwellings to have a *para*. License must be granted to the story-teller.

WILD PIGS.

The wild pigs were once Malays who used to change themselves into pigs and go off into the jungle.

There were once two Kintak Bong men, brothers. The eldest was stupid, but the younger was a *halak*. They went to the jungle and came across some pigs, and the elder brother shot at one of them with an arrow [1] and hit it. Then the "pigs" ran away to their houses and became men again, and the man who had been hit complained of the pain to his wife.

Now the younger brother went to the village and saw the sickman. The elder brother followed him and called out in the village, "This is where my arrow is," but his younger brother told him not to say anything. Then the "pigs" came and fought with them. The elder brother went home, but the younger remained behind and treated the sick man till he was well.

Then the younger brother went home and said to this elder brother, "Do not go to the village to-morrow, if you do, the "pigs" will fight, and you will die." The elder brother paid no attention to what the younger said, and went to the village and asked for rice.[2] They gave him rice, and attacked him while he was eating it, and killed him.

His younger brother did not know about this. The next morning he went to the village and found his elder brother's body lying there. He went and moved the body, and found that his brother was dead. Then he took the tail of a grass-lizard and thrust it into his elder brother's nostrils. Whereupon his brother sneezed, and came to life again. Then they went home.

When they got home, they stopped there for two days, and then the elder brother went fishing and caught some fish. He went back to his hut, and, when he arrived, his wife cooked rice for him. After he had eaten, and it had become dark, he set out again and did not return. His younger brother went in search of him, but could not find him, so he went back, and remained at his hut for fifteen days. On the sixteenth day he again went in search of his elder brother, and found him at a water spirits'[3] camp. Then the younger

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[1] It is often said, with truth, that the bow is the original Negrito weapon and that the blow-pipe has been borrowed from the Sakai. The bow though known to the Negritos of Perak is now little, if at all, used by them, but is still a favourite weapon of the Negrito-Sakai of the hills of Upper Perak. The Negritos of the Perak River Valley (Lanoh) use the blow-pipe to a considerable extent, weapons generally being obtained from the Negrito-Sakai, who can easily obtain the long noded bamboo (*B. Wrayi*) which is the best for making the inner tubes. The Negritos have, however, evolved their own type of dart-quiver: this has no cover.

In these folk-stories it is, I think, well demonstrated that the bow is the original Negrito weapon, there are constant references to it as against only one to the blow-pipe.

[2] The Kintak Bong are at the present day, hangers-on at Malay villages. They continually beg for rice, and often avoid doing work in payment for it when received.

[3] *Kemoit teheu.*

brother slept there for the night, and saw that the people of the hut were of a different race from human beings.

On the next day he tried to persuade his elder brother to come home, but he refused. So the elder brother stopped there, while the younger returned.

A Menik Kaien Legedn.

Told by Mĕmpĕlam, Headman of the Kintak Bong.

There was once a man, a *halak*, who had a son who was also a *halak*. The son had a wife. One day the son went out to shoot with his blow pipe. His wife took a *bakong*-fruit and roasted it in the fire, intending to give it to her child, who was crying for food. The *bakong* [1] fruit exploded: —now to burn a *bakong*-fruit in the fire is tabu, and, if anyone does so, a tiger will come and eat the offender when the fruit explodes. On the fruit exploding, the father-in-law became startled, began to shake, and turned into a tiger and [2] ate up his daughter-in-law.

When the son came home, he saw what is father had done, and the two fought together. The son was beaten, because the father became very tall during the fight, and though he, too, became very tall, he could not attain such a height as his father. Then the father said to the son that he (the son) could not fight with him (the father) any more, and that the hut should become a cave in a hill. So the hut became a cave, and is still to be seen near Batu Kurau. [3]

Now Tang-ong, the father of Tapern came to the cave and the two men, [4] now called Heneng Ai, [5] emerged from the cave up to their shoulders. Then Tang-ong asked what had happened and the father told him how he and his son had fought, and asked him to tell the Menik Kaien that they were to keep the sixteenth day of the month—the day on which they had fought—as tabu, whenever they went near the hill.

(The Menik Kaien according to Mĕmpĕlam, claim Batu Kurau as being in their territory. Only the Menik Kaien dialect may be talked by Negritos when going near the hill.)

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[1] Probably *Susum anthelmicum*.

[2] Magicians among the Negritos and the Sakai are frequently credited with the power of turning themselves into tigers.

[3] I am inclined to think that this cave may be the rock-shelter in Gunong Kurau which the Malays call Keramat Rimau, *i.e.* the tiger's holy place. I carried out excavations at this site in 1917; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 34 of this *Journal*. Tôkeh (1921), however, says that Mĕmpelam is wrong and that the place is in the Ulu Selama.

[4] The father and son.

[5] *Heneng Ai* is also the Negrito name of the cave. It means "the hole of the leaf-monkeys." The particular species of leaf-monkey is *Presbytes neglecta keatii*.

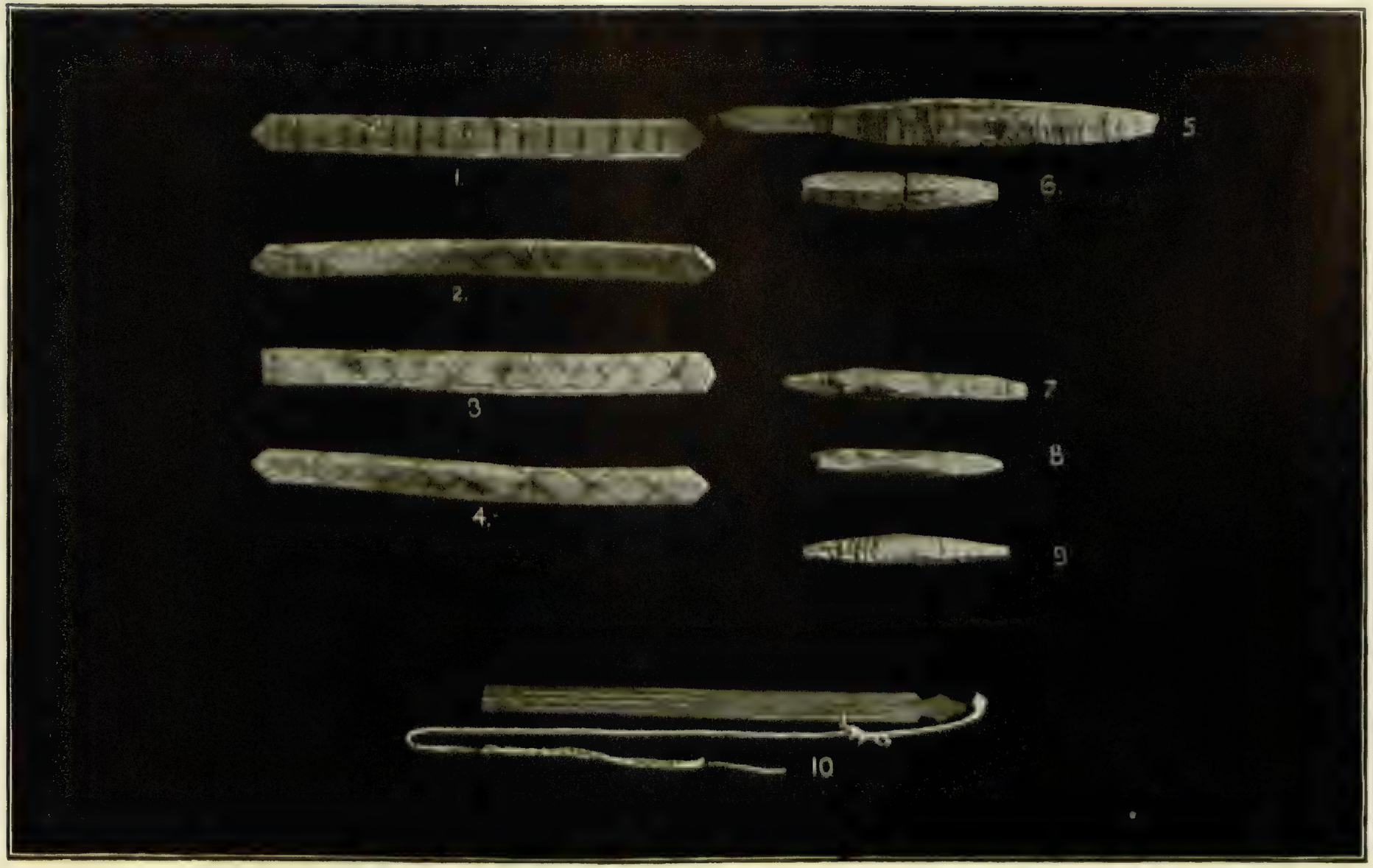
Note on the Identification of Negrito Words.

As a large number of Negrito words occur in both my papers on the Ulu Selama Parish, I have made an attempt to identify them in the comparative vocabulary at the end of volume II of *Pagan Races*. A large proportion of these—given in the list below, together with reference letters and numbers—has been thus traced to identical, nearly allied, or probably related, forms, but a considerable number have not been thus identified; of these most are to be found in the songs of the *halak* or in those of the "singing performance." There is thus a possibility that some of them are words which are not in every-day use, since the Chinoi—who are said to use special words—speak through the *halak*, while, in the "singing performance," Chinoi were also supposed to be speaking, though, in this instance, I take it, there was no suggestion of possession by them.

Ag-ag, crow. C 277.
Ai, monkey (*Presbytes neglecta keatii*). M 140.
Awih, climbing plant. R 39.
Bai, dig. D 107.
Balak, ivory. H 126.
Baleh, virgin. G 28, Y 40, W 131.
Bekau, flower. F 187.
Bĕring, fruit. F 281.
Beteu, water. W 3.
Betud, long. L 130.
Bleuk, thigh. T 60.
Bum, we (=Malay *kawan*, companion). R 36. (*Lataik bum : rotan kawan*).
Chelchem, Chelchem. *c.f.* perhaps, *kelyeng*, inside. I 27.
Chem, stab. C 296 (*cheg*).
Chibeh, sunrise. D 33 (chēwē).
Chintol, bud. B 446. Meaning given as "comb flower" in my first paper.
Dadak, breast. B 380.
Dahar, where. W 81.
Deh, this, it. T 86.
Deng, see. S 75.
Deurk, run. G 44.
Eh, father. F 45.
Ek, stomach. B 161.
Empak, dream. D 158.
Ensol, ashamed. A 158, a.
Gampil, mat. M 63.
Gul, swamp. H 113.
Ha, where, what. W 77.
Halak, shaman. M 78.
Heneng, hole. H 107.

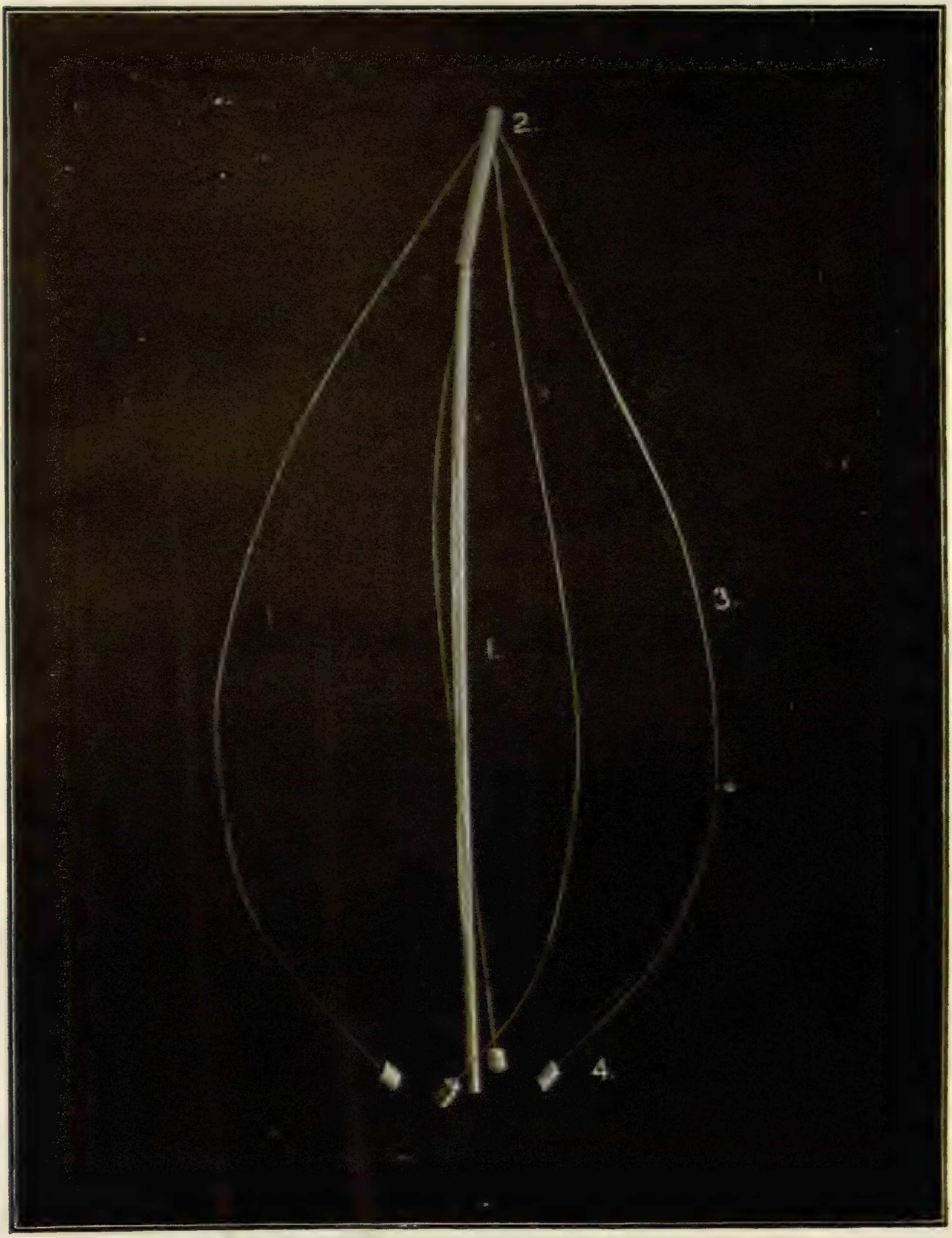
Hertik, tail. T 3.
Hilud, swallow, to. S 526.
Huyak, rainbow snake. R 16. Skeat has my original. spelling "Hwiak."
Ibeh, turn *c.f. bit, habit.* T 250.
Jagat, giddy. *c.f. ja-kui.* H 46.
Kawap, bear. B 103.
Kawong, Argus pheasant. A 129.
Kebeurk, fruit (=Malay *biji* a numeral coefficient applied to round objects such as fruit) : F 283.
Kedlud, firefly. W 121.
Kedong, rat. R 33.
Kelingtek, earth, from under. E 12 (*tek*).
Kemoit, ghost. G 18.
Keping, above. A 5.
Kid, root, bottom. P 515, A 118.
Kijing, hear. H 60.
Kilad, lightning. L 97.
Klang, hawk. E 4.
Kom, frog. F 265.
Kuie, head. H 46.
Kuwangkweit, bird, species of. B 222.
Lel, spin (turn). T 267, T 251.
Magiseh, go round. T 257.
Makab, seize. C 48. Wrongly given as "eat" in my first paper.
Maloh, what. W 77.
Menang, thread. T 96 .
Menik, Negrito. M 25.
Menlis (blis), go down. D 33, F 12.
Met ke'ok, sun. D 33.
Minchah, stomach trouble. S 468.
Mohr, nose. N 98.
Ngabag, magical singing performance, to hold a. S 212.
Nieng, ear. E 6.
Oi, I (?). *c.f.* I 3.
Pas, muntjac. D 76.
Penet, tired. T 149.
Penig, durian, cultivated. D 188.
Pideh, call. C 9.
Piseng, banana. P 49.
Puyau, basket. *c.f. puyu*, pandanus. P 27.
Sagwong, bird, species of. B 225.
Sempak, durian, wild. D 189.
Sog, hair. H 1.
Suk, hair. H 1.
Takob, tuber. Y 2. Given as hole (of nose) (?) in my first paper.
Tanggoi, rambutan. R 22.
Tapag, palm leaflets. R 178.

Teiok, tiger. T 130.
Tekoh, afterwards. A 46.
Tembun, come up, climb. C 116.
Til-tol-tapah, a bird. D 181. It is not the Argus pheasant as stated by Vaughan Stevens.
Un, that, there. T 51.
Wai, open. O 44.
Yak, grandmother. G 86.
Yek, I. I 1.
Yam, I. I 1.



OBJECTS CONNECTED WITH BURIAL, ETC.

1–4. *Tangkel kemoit*, "ghost talismans." Models made by Tōkeh.
5. *Tangkel dateng*. Ditto.
6. *Tangkel dawit*. Ditto.
7–9. *Tangkel teiok*. Tiger charms placed on graves. Models made by Tōkeh.
10. Toy bullroarer.



MODEL OF THE *BATU HEREM*, the Stone which supports the Heavens.

Made by Tōkeh.

1. The stem of the Batu Herem.
2. The *Lambong*.
3. The cords.
4. The *Tang-al*.

XXVII. ON AN EXAMINATION OF SOME NEGRITO COMBS FROM PERAK.

By Ivor H. N. Evans, M.A.

(Plates XVIII & XIX.)

The commonest types of comb that I have collected from the Kintak Bong of the Ula Selama Parish of Perak are the six and the eight-pattern varieties. In both of these the kinds of patterns, their arrangement [1] with regard to one another, and their comparative sizes, are all regulated by tradition.

Let us take first of all a six-pattern comb, such as *fig. A* in the illustration. The pattern of the first panel stands by itself, not being reproduced elsewhere on the comb. Pattern *2*, however, recurs again in panel *6*, and pattern *3*, in panel *5*. The fourth pattern—different from any of the others—is always much larger than the rest. Now it is in accordance with traditions that only a few kinds of patterns are allowable in panel *1*, and the same is true for the similar panels *2*, and *6*, *3* and *5*, as well as for panel *4*.

In the ordinary type of eight-pattern (or eight-panel) comb the arrangement is similar, except that two extra panels, containing the same patterns as panels *2* and *6* of the six-pattern comb (*2* and *8* in the eight-pattern comb) are inserted, one on either side of the largest panel—panel *4* in a six-pattern comb. We may, therefore, since it is understood that an eight-pattern comb is exactly the same as a six-pattern, except for the addition of the two extra panels, as remarked, leave this type and proceed to the detailed examination of the patterns which are to be found on six-panel combs.

The whole comb is called *kenait*, the panels *papan*,[2] and the boundary lines between the patterns *enem*. In panel *4*, according to my Kintak Bong informant, the following patterns are allowable: "crossing jackfruit shoots" (*tenwug nangka*), "cucumber flowers," "thighs of the Monitor-lizard" (*bleuk patiu*), "young moon" (*wong*[3] *kichek*), "breast of the red-breasted hill tortoise" (*sob sueh*) and *hilik yawin* (bracken leaves). Probably the commonest of these is *tenwug nangka*

In panels *2* and *6* the commonest pattern is *kebeurk padi* (padi grains) though *tapag salag* (leaflets of the Salak[4]) is sometimes found, as also "gourd seeds," a pattern very similar to "padi grains" but in which the diamonds, which are often

[1] *Vide Pagan Races*, Vol. II, p. 564, C 225 A.
[2] A Malay word which means "plank."
[3] *Wong* means "child."
[4] The *Salak*-palm, *Zalacca edulis*.

shorter and broader, have a dot in the centre of each. Leaf-monkey's teeth (*yus ai*) is the almost invariable pattern in panels *3* and *5*, while panel *1* may have *pisuas chinbeg* (torn-open cabbage of the Bertam-palm [1]), *gel talung* (millipedes' waists), and *sudak taduk* (spikes of the Bayas-plam [2]) or *sudak manau* (spikes of the Rotan Manau [3]). A study of combs collected in the Ulu Selama Parish and now in the Perak Museum—ten specimens—gives the following results:—

Nos. 1, 2, 3. Typical eight-panel combs.
Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7. Typical six-panel combs.
No. 8. Typical six-panel comb except that panel 2 has the pattern which is called "cucumber seeds," while panel 6 has the ordinary "padi grains." These two divisions, therefore, do not "balance" one another.
No. 9. Typical six-pattern comb with cucumber seeds in panels 2 and 6.
No. 10. An eight-panel comb. Non-typical. Evidently the production of a prentice hand. Three panels blank, and patterns, which are merely rudely engraved, not of the usual type.

A very noticeable feature of Negrito decorative art as applied to bamboo is that, whereas the Sakai merely scratches the skin of the bamboo to make patterns, afterwards colouring the scratches slightly with some brownish or blackish substance, the Negrito, to obtain more outstanding effects, often removes parts of the light yellow skin of the bamboo and colours the underlying portions a rich brown. Some patterns produced in this way are to be found on nearly every bamboo article made by the Perak Negritos, and though many designs are merely made by scratching the skin of the bamboo, those in which the skin has been removed give Negrito bamboo articles a very distinctive appearance. When this process is employed the yellow skin of the bamboo may either form a pattern which stands out against a dark brown background, or may provide a light background which shows up a dark pattern. A good example of the former type of ornamentation is the pattern called "padi grains:" in this the yellow diamond-shaped grains are in strong contrast with the brown background. In the "monkey teeth" pattern, on the other hand, the brown pattern (teeth) contrasts with a yellow background.

An examination of Negrito combs from other parts of North Perak—the places from which we have examples are Ijok (Selama Sub-District) and Lenggong and Grik in Upper Perak—would seem to show that the rules stated above are more or less observed in these places also, for, though there are examples which do not conform to type, it is to be noticed

[1] *Eugeissona tristis.* [2] *Oncosperma horrida.*
[3] A kind of rattan palm.

that these are very often the worst in execution and design, and, probably, are the work of juveniles, or of inexpert adults. According to the evidence of Tōkeh,[1] a Menik Kaien Negrito living at Ijok, the traditional Negrito comb patterns were obtained from Yak Tanggoi,[2] a deified Kintak Bong ancestress, who now resides in the sky with Tapern. She it was who first taught the Negritos to make combs and other personal ornaments and mothers still say to their girl children when they are inclined to consider themselves good-looking, and be conceited in consequence, "You need not think that you are as beautiful as Yak Tanggoi."

I have found absolutely no evidence that engraved combs are regarded as talismans by the Negritos of Perak, though the patterns on the dart-quivers are thought to make the game tame, so that it may easily be shot by the hunters with their blow-pipes. Tōkeh told me, in 1921, that the Negritos decorated their quivers with such patterns as they dreamt would prevent game becoming frightened.

Patterns in the Illustrations.

(a) Torn-open cabbage of the Bertam-palm (*pisuas chinbeg*).
(b) Padi grains (*kebeurk padi*).
(c) Teeth of the lotong-monkey (*yus ai*).
(d) Crossing *shoots of the* jackfruit (*tenwug nangka*).
(e) Leaflets of the Salak-palm (*tapag salag*).
(f) Thighs of the Monitor-lizard (*bleuk patiu*).
(g) Millipedes' waists (*gel talung*).
(h) Cucumber flowers.
(i) Bertam pattern.
(j) Gourd seeds.
(k) Birds' wings.
} Names obtained in Malay only.

With regard to these patterns, it will be noted that there is a great similarity between *pisuas chinbeg* (*a*) and the design which I have called "Bertam pattern." *Pisuas chinbeg*, according to my informant, means "torn-open *cabbage of the* Bertam-palm," while the Malay name obtained for it was *bunga bĕrtam*,[3] *bunga* meaning either "flower" or "pattern."[4]

With reference to *g*, the name given—"millipedes' waists" (*gel talung*)—is rather doubtful.

The patterns *f* (*bleuk patiu*) in comb *C* and those (*d*) termed *tenwug nangka* in combs *A* and *B*, are almost identical, though in comb *A* there are four dots placed in the centre of the diamond formed by the crossing elements of the pattern.

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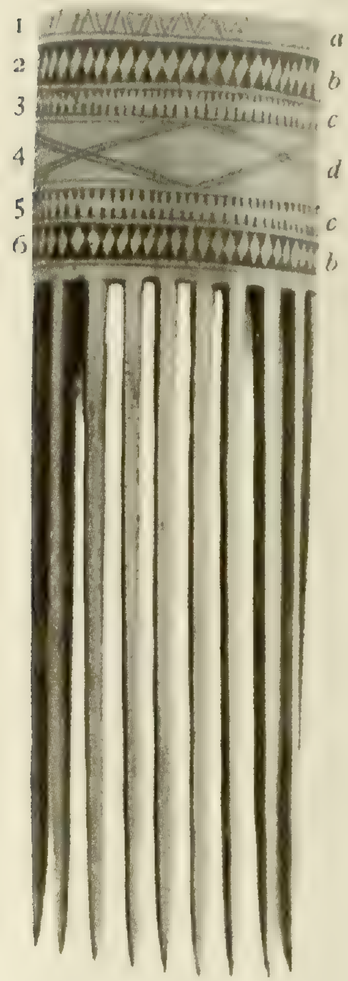
[1] Obtained in 1921.
[2] Yak Tanggoi means "Grandmother Rambutan."
[3] From a Negrito of Grik, from whom the comb was bought.
[4] Compare these two patterns with that which I have queried.

I believe that the elongated diamonds of comb *A* are less typical of *tenwug nangka* than the form found in comb *B*.

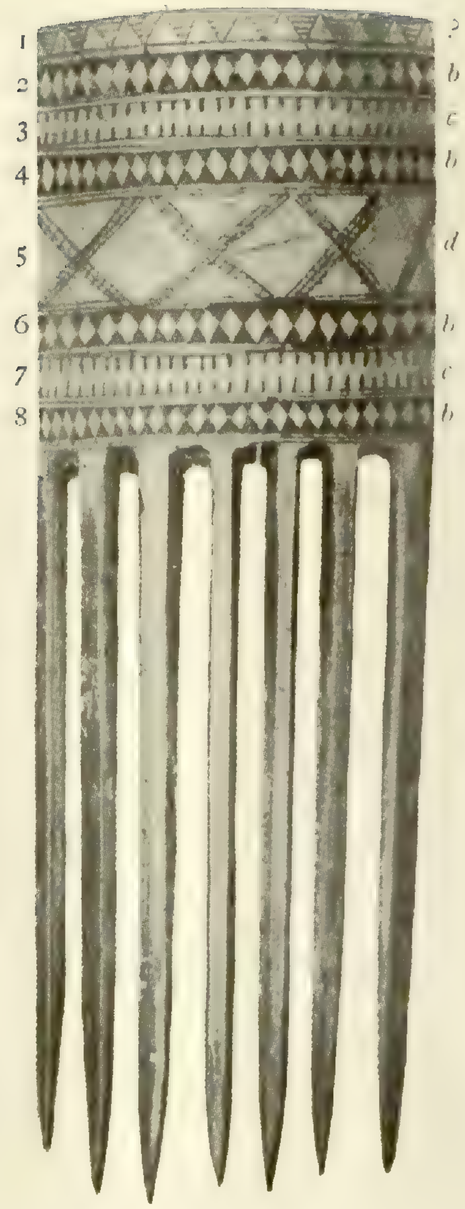
It may be remarked here that the F.M.S. Museums possess no examples of Negrito combs from the Eastern States of the Peninsula, except two, in Taiping, from the Batek of the Cheka River, Pahang. These two specimens are, however, not at all typical of Negrito art.



A.

TYPICAL SIX-PATTERN COMB.

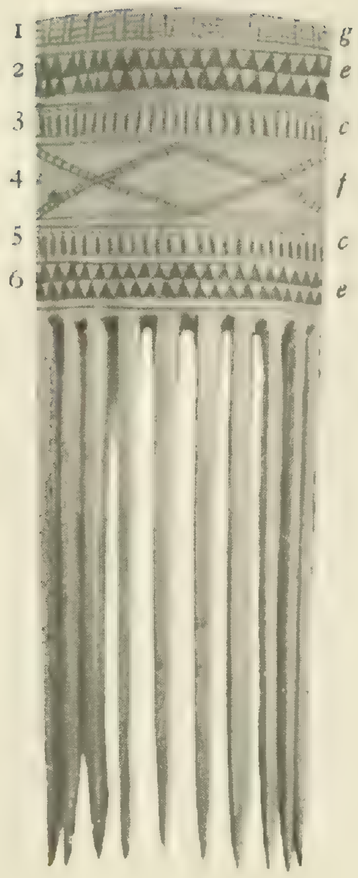
Selama Sub-District, Perak.



B.

TYPICAL EIGHT-PATTERN COMB.

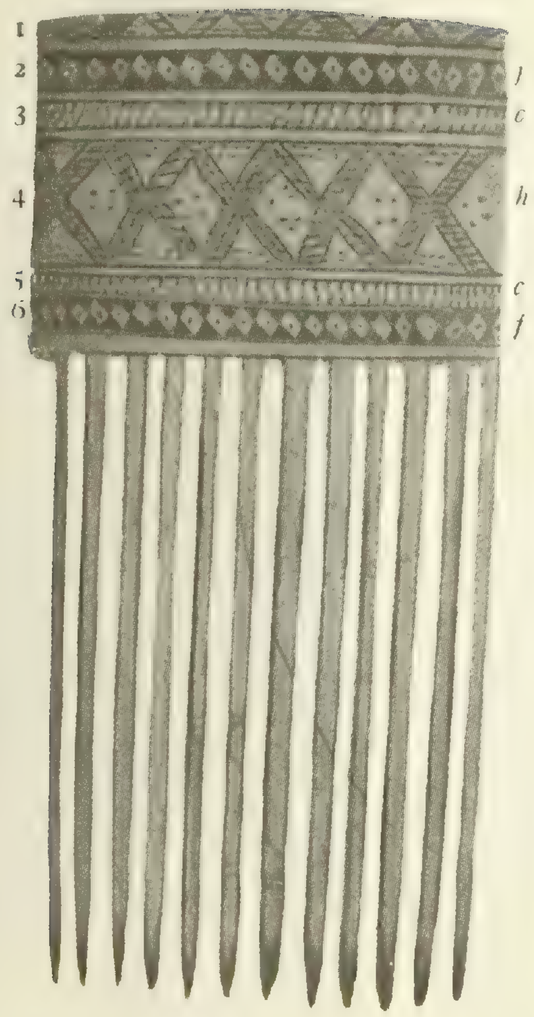
Selama Sub-District, Perak.



C.

TYPICAL SIX-PATTERN COMB.

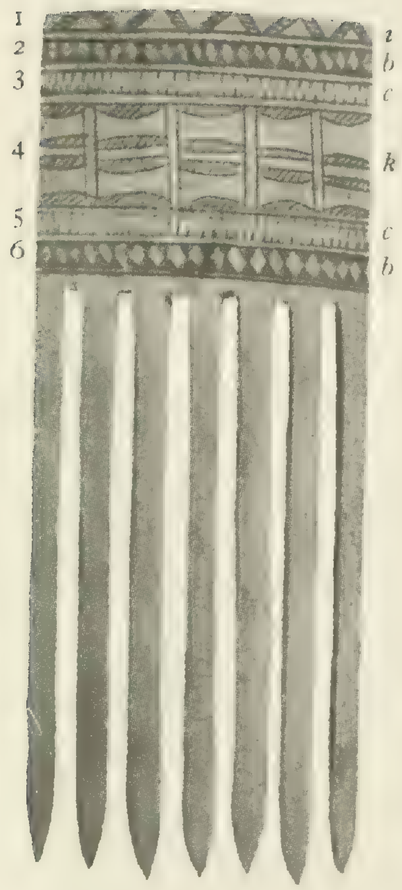
Selama Sub-District, Perak.



D.

SIX-PATTERN COMB.

Selama Sub-District, Perak.



E.

SIX-PATTERN COMB.

Grik, Upper Perak.

XXVIII. THE MALAY FIRE-PISTON.

By IVOR H. N. EVANS.

(Plate XX.)

In the collection of *Anthropological Essays Presented to Edward Burnett Tylor in Honour of his 75th Birthday* is to be found a very full and interesting paper on the fire-piston by Henry Balfour. He has demonstrated that this curious implement is known and put to practical use in the Shan States and Pegu, among the Khas and Mois, in the Malay Peninsula, in Western Sumatra, in Java (among the Sundanese and in the Kediri Residency), in Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, parts of Borneo, and also in Mindanao and Luzon. In Europe the fire-piston seems first to have been produced in the year 1802.

The present paper is written with the object of describing certain specimens in the Perak Museum, Taiping, to which Balfour referred, but of which he had no description.[1] There are seven specimens in the Perak Museum, and the three of these have been added to the collections by myself since his paper appeared.

The materials used in the construction of our fire-pistons are buffalo-horn, wood and tin. The cylinders of the implements are all of horn or tin, the pistons sometimes of wood. I have seen the fire-piston in use on several occasions among the "Patani" Malays, who have flocked into the north of Perak from Siamese Malaya during the last hundred years or so, and, provided that the instrument is in good condition and the tinder dry, can obtain fire with it myself in at least two out of three attempts made. A most important part of the instrument is the binding of rag, near the distal end of the piston, which acts as a washer, and prevents the escape of air. This must be so adjusted that it allows the piston to pass smoothly down the cylinder when the piston head is given a sharp blow with the palm of the hand, and must not be so tight that there is difficulty in withdrawing the piston fairly quickly, nor so loose that air can escape from within. In museum specimens this binding, which is treated with beeswax in order to facilitate its passage, is generally out of order.

In making fire a little piece of tinder is pushed into the depression, or cavity, at the distal end of the piston, that part of the material which is contained in the depression being fairly closely packed– to prevent it falling out—but a

[1] Page 30 of his paper.

portion which projects beyond the piston end being left rather loose in order that it may be easily kindled by the spark. When the piston is ready, its distal end is inserted in the cylinder: the cylinder is then grasped firmly in the left hand, and the piston driven home by a sharp blow on its proximal end, extracted smartly, and the tinder is found to be alight. A little experience of the instrument is necessary to get the best results, especially with regard to the withdrawal of the piston. This must be done quickly, but not roughly, or the spark will be extinguished. The following are descriptions of our specimens :—

(i) Fire-piston (*gobek api*) with tin cylinder and wooden piston. Rather clumsily made. Length of cylinder 8·6 cms.; length of piston 10·1 cms. From Larut, Perak.

(ii) Fire-piston (*gobek api*) with cylinder and piston both of buffalo horn. Length of cylinder 7·6 cms.; length of piston 9·9 cms. Made at Lenggong, Upper Perak, in 1917 for I. H. N. Evans by a Malay craftsman named Ismail.

(iii) Well-made fire-piston (*gobek api*) with tin cylinder and wooden piston. Length of cylinder 9·5 cms.; length of piston 10·5 cms. Collected by L. Wray at Pulau Tiga, Lower Perak. Museum number 2135/06.

(iv) Fire syringe (*gobek api*) with horn cylinder and wooden piston. An old specimen. Length of cylinder 7·6 cms.; length of piston 8·9 cms. Collected at Lenggong, Upper Perak, by I. H. N. Evans. Museum number 7/17.

(v) Fire-piston (*gobek api*) with both cylinder and piston of buffalo horn. A small pouch for tinder is attached by a cord to the lower end of the cylinder. Length of cylinder 8·8 cms.; length of piston 11·0 cms. Lower Perak.

(vi) Small fire-piston (cylinder and piston both of buffalo horn) with spatula and tinder-box attached to it. The tinder-box, which is made from a nut of some kind, and has a wooden stopper, is tied by a string to the base of the cylinder, while the spatula, a French nail with the point beaten out, is also attached to the same part of the instrument. The piston and the cylinder are connected by a cord. Length of cylinder 4·8 cms.; length of piston 5·5 cms. "Patani." Collected by G. F. Bozzolo.

(vii) Fire-piston (*gobek api*) with cylinder of buffalo horn and piston of wood. The specimen is remarkable for an upturned spike proceeding from its base. This, when the instrument is held

ready for use, comes up behind the fingers of the left hand. The top of the piston has a small hole in it, probably for containing tinder. Length of cylinder 8·4 cms.; length of piston 8·4 cms. Collected at Kampong Perak, Batu Kurau, Perak, by I. H. N. Evans in 1918. Museum number 61/18.

FIRE-PISTONS FROM THE MALAY PENINSULA.

XXIX. MALAY CHARMS.

By R. O. WINSTEDT.

Part II.—Miscellaneous.

(1) *Bab mĕmanggil roh.*

Hai wadi madzi, mani, manikam!
Aku tahu lasal ĕngkau kĕluar
Dari-pada lambong kiri Adam.
Hai roh si-anu!
Kĕluar-lah ĕngkau datang ka-pada aku!
Mari ku-taroh di-bawah jantong hati yang puteh!
Jikalau ĕngkau tiada kĕluar,
Durhaka-lah ĕngkau dari-pada Allah!
Durhaka-lah ĕngkau dari-pada Muhammad!
Bĕrkat, "La ilaha illa 'llah, Muhammad Rasulu' llah."
Aku 'nak katup hati yang duka;
Aku 'nak buka hati yang kaseh,
Kaseh tundok ka-pada aku!

Ho elements of the seed of man!
I know the origin whence ye sprang!
From the left side of Adam.
Soul of my beloved!
Come forth and come to me!
Let me place thee beneath a heart
That loves thee truly,
If thou comest not,
Then art thou traitor to God!
Then art thou traitor to Muhammad!
By virtue of the invocation, "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Prophet."
I would close the gates of thy heart to sorrow!
I would open the gates of thy heart to love,
Love that bows down to me!

(2) *Sa-bagai lagi.*

Aku nikahkan orang mata (si-anu)
Dĕngan orang mata aku!
Jikalau ĕngkau tiada tengok aku,
Pĕchah mata ĕngkau!
Sah sidi pĕngajaran guru aku!
Barkat, "La ilaha," etc.

A similar charm.

I would wed the image in the pupil of my mistress' eye.

With the image in the pupil of my own!
If thou lookest not upon me,
May thy eyeballs burst!
May the teaching of my master prevail
By virtue of the charm, "There is no God," etc.

(3) *Sa-bagai lagi.*

Hai anak ayam!
Ĕnduĭ-ĕnduĭ!
Mari kau-bam tĕlaga aku!
Aku dudok bagai bintang chahaya!
Aku bĕrjalan, ĕngkau mĕmandang chahaya aku!
Ong sĕri manis! (?) *Tang kudi*[1] *manis!*
Manis sakalian mĕmandang aku!

Chick, my pet!
Come drink at this well of mine!
I sit waiting like a shining star.
When I walk, behold my splendour!
Om! may all men behold my sweet grace.

(4) *Bab pĕmanis.*

Hai ayer si-rĕndam kacha!
Aku 'nak basoh bintang bĕrchahaya!
Chahaya Allah, chahaya Muhammad, chahaya bagin-da Rasulu' llah!
Aku 'nak chahaya kĕrana muka aku,
Sapĕrti bulan pĕnoh purnama ĕmpat-bĕlas
Mĕmandang muka aku!
Tundok kaseh ka-pada aku!
Jangan sa-tara manusia dua kaki,
Gajah ĕmpat kaki sa-bĕrang laut
Chari tundok ka-pada aku!
Bĕrkat doa, "La ilaha," etc.

A charm for beauty.

Water clear as glass!
I'd bathe in the brightness of a star,
The brightness of God, the brightness of Muhammad, Apostle of God!
I ask for brightness for my countenance,
The brightness of the full moon of the fourteenth day
For all that look upon me.
Let not only men that walk on legs twain!
Let the four-footed elephant from over the sea
Come and bow down for love of me,
By virtue of the invocation, "There is no God," etc.

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[1] (*Cf.* Skeat's "Malay Magic," p. 632, note 2: I have discovered no satisfactory explanation.)

(5) An erotic charm.

Um chang chang!
Si-dang bĕsi!
Anak harimau si-tandang malam!
Mĕnjadikan bĕsi siang dan malam!
Kahar aku kahar u'llah!
Kahar aku insha 'llah!
Ah kahar aku!

(6) Another.

Um chang chang!
Ayer lior pun bĕsi!
Bulu ruma pun bĕsi!
Kulit pun bĕsi!
Darah pun bĕsi!
Urat pun bĕsi!
Hai bĕsi Khĕrsani!
Hai bĕsi tĕrjalli!

(7) A charm to call the soul back:—it lives in the belly!

Hai anak-ku!
Nang Sĕri Tani[1] *alam!*
Bĕrusong mari ka-pada aku!
Bĕrdokong bĕrkilek mari ka-pada aku!
Di-matahari naik,
Di-matahari jatoh,
Mari ka-pada aku!
Di-hulu, di-hilir
Mari ka-pada aku!
Di-laut di-darat
Mari ka-pada aku!
Mari sĕmangat ayah!
Mari ka-pada ayah!
Mari burong ayah!
Mari ka-pada ayah
Jangan-jangan mu-kĕchil hati!
Jangan-jangan mu-kĕchil rasa!
Hai maya!
Aku tahu asal ĕngkau.
Maya ku-lambong buang,
Maya ku-balang buang.
Ong (?) chit!
Fa yakun! Fa yakun!

My child!
Come I provide a litter for thee!
Come I carry thee in my arms, under my arm!
Where the sun sets,
Where the sun rises,
Come unto me!

---

[1] *Cf.* Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. 892, line 8. I have not discovered the meaning of this line.

Upstream and down, by sea and land
Come unto me!
Come my soul to thy sire!
Come my birdling to thy sire!
Be not hurt in heart or feelings.
Unsubstantial spirit
I know thy origin!
Spirit I toss and throw!
Spirit I hurl and throw!
So be it! So be it! Om!

(8) A charm to restore to health.

Puleh Allah! Puleh Muhammad!
Puleh baginda Rasulu 'llah!
Bukan aku ĕmpunya puleh!
Allah ĕmpunya puleh!
Bukan aku ĕmpunya puleh!
Nabi Muhammad ĕmpunya puleh!
Bukan aku ĕmpunya puleh!
Pawang Tua ĕmpunya puleh
Bukan aku ĕmpunya puleh!
Pawang Muda ĕmpunya puleh!
Bukan aku ĕmpunya puleh!
Hakimu 'l-hukama ĕmpunya puleh!
Puleh di-otak, puleh di-tulang
Puleh di-daging, puleh di-kulit.
Om! puleh! Ah! puleh

It is God restores to health,
It is Muhammad, His Apostle,
It is not I.
It is an ancient magician,
It is a young magician,
It is not I.
It is not I
But the preeminent among physicians.
Restored to health are brains and bones,
Restored to health are flesh and skin!
Om!

(9) *Hai si-Kumari Mahadewi!*
Rĕlang kaki siku tangan
Dudok ĕngkan di-awan †basang-basang† di-kĕyangan!
Aku tilek tĕrus tujoh pĕtala langit!
Aku tilek tĕrus tujoh pĕtala bumi!
Turun-lah ĕngkau di-manjapada!
Turun-lah buangkan gĕroh chĕlaka malang!
Bukan aku yang mĕmbuangkan
†Semak sidi, semak kateteh, semak balong†
Allah yang mĕmbuangkan.
Bukan aku mĕlĕpaskan!

†Semak sidi† mĕlĕpaskan dari-ḍada tuboh badan orang yang sakit ini.
Bĕrkat doa, "La ilaha," etc.

(I have only a romanized version of this charm and the words indicated by † are corrupt or at least unintelligible. The general meaning is clear.)

Great virgin goddess Mahadewi!
Wearing anklets, armlets and bracelets!
Thou who sittest in the clouds of heaven!
I see clean through the seven layers of the sky!
I see clean through the seven layers of the earth!
Do thou descend to this world!
Descend and dispel evil luck and disaster!
It is not I but Allah
Who dispels sickness from the body of this person
By virtue of the invocation, "There is no God but Allah," etc.

(10) *†Untaja ḍati cha uda udi*
Ayoh ayang sayang sanggara
Batak Awang! Batak Awing! †
Apa gĕlaḍ gĕlĕmat hujan?
Salah musim ribut? Salah kutika?
Sang Baning Naning mĕrtekkan tidor dari awetan.
Tĕrgunchang shurga! tĕrbuka pintu lawang!
†Sang Kaki, Sang Gantang, Sang Sifat, †
Bapa Ratu, ibn Suri!
Bukan aku mĕlĕpaskan bala pustaka!
Sang† Kaki, Sang† Gantang† mĕlĕpaskan bala pustaka!
Bukan aku mĕlĕpaskan bala pustaka!
Sang† Kaki† Bĕtara Guru mĕlĕpaskan bala pustaka.
Bukan aku mĕlĕpaskan bala pustaka!
Dewa kĕyangan mĕlĕpaskan bala pustaka!
Bukan aku mĕlĕpaskan bala pustaka!
Dewa kĕtujoh mĕlĕpaskan bala pustaka!
Bukan aku mĕlĕpaskan bala pustaka!
Dewa kĕsakti mĕlĕpaskan bala pustaka!
Hai anak Bĕtara Kala! chichit bota Singa Gana!
Turun mĕlĕpaskan bala pustaka!
Turun mĕlĕpaskan pĕrbuatan jin!
Turun mĕlĕpaskan pĕrbuatan manusia!
Hai anak Bĕtara Kala! chichit bota Singa Gana!
Turun ka-dunia mĕnjadikan jin dan shaitan dua-bĕlas bangsa
Mĕlĕpaskan bala pustaka chĕlaka malang!
Mĕlĕpaskan ka-pada tahun ini,
Mĕlĕpaskan ka-pada bulan ini,
Mĕlĕpaskan ka-pada hari ini,
Mĕlĕpaskan ka-pada rumah tangga dan sĕgala anak Adam!

Mĕlĕpaskan dĕngan aku!
Hai si-ogok-ogok! si-egek-egek!
Parang Bisnu di-muka aku.
Hai Jin, si Raja Jin!
Jin Sun! Jin Sen!
Jin nan mĕgang tanah ayer!
Jin nan mĕmangku bumi!
Pulang-lah ĕngkau ka-pada tĕmpat ĕngkau
Di-pusat tasek tĕbing runtoh,
Di-sana-lah tĕmpat ĕngkau!
Jikalau datang dari-pada gunong, pulang ka-gunong!
Dari bukit, pulang ka-bukit!
Dari padang, pulang ka-padang!
Dari rimba, pulang ka-rimba!
Jangan ĕngkau masok tapak guru aku!
Jikalau ĕngkau masok tapak guru aku,
Aku sumpah ĕngkau dĕngan pĕrkataan Nabi Allah Sulaiman!
Aku sumpah ĕngkau dĕngan pĕrkataan, "La ilaha illa 'llah, Muhammad Rasulu 'llah."
Nyah! pindah-lah ĕngkau
Dĕngan bĕrkat doa Nabi Allah Sulaiman,
"Allahu hak!"

A charm to Dispel ill-luck.

(The first three lines are unintelligible and the names of some of the deities doubtful I omit them in translation.)

What is this darkness and rain?
Heaven is shaken and its gates open.
It is not I that get rid of the evils of black magic,
It is Betara Guru; it is the gods of heaven,
It is the seven gods, the gods with supernatural power.
Son of Betara Kala, grandson of Ganesha
Descend and dispel the evils of black magic,
The evil wrought by genies and mortals,
Descend to earth and create twelve races of genie and devil!
Dispel the evils of black magic, all hazard and ill-luck!
Dispel them this year, this month, this day!
Dispel them from the homes of all the sons of Adam!
Dispel them along with me!
The sword of Vishnu is before my face.
King of genies, Genie Sun and genie Sen!
Genies in whose keeping is earth and water!
Genies in whose laps is the world!
Return ye to your place, the broken rock at the navel of the seas!

There is your place.
Genies of the mountains, return to the mountains!
Genies of the hills, return to the hills!
Genies of the plains, return to the plains!
Genies of the forest, return to the forests!
Enter not the line drawn by my teacher!
If ye enter, I will curse ye with the words of the Prophet Solomon;
I will curse ye with the creed, "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his Prophet."
Get ye hence in virtue of the words of the Prophet Solomon.

(11) *Pĕngĕri gajah jantan*
Bismi 'llahi r-Rahmani-r-Rahimi!
Sinar mĕnchĕrang akan muka-ku!
Bintang timor akan mata-ku!
Gajah jantan akan badan-ku!
Harimau buas akan sandar-ku!
Buaya ganas kĕdudokan-ku!
Bĕrkat aku mĕmakai pĕngĕri gajah jantan.
Sah sidi pĕngajaran guru!
Sah sidi mustajab ka-pada aku!
Bĕrkat, "La ilaha," etc.

A charm to frighten and capture a male elephant. It should be recited three mornings at sunrise, the reciter standing on one leg.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
My countenance is the light of breaking day!
My eyes are the star of dawn!
My body is as that of a male elephant!
My prop is a fierce tiger!
My seat is a ravening crocodile!
By virtue of the use of this charm!
May the teaching of my master prevail,
Prevail and be efficacious unto me
By virtue of the words, "There is no God," etc.

(12) *Pĕmbachaan sĕliseh mara.*
Bismi 'llahi' r-Rahmani-r-Rahimi!
Hai sakalian yang bĕrnyawa!
Mĕnyĕlisehkan ĕngkau di-kiri dan di-kanan-ku!
Aku si-raja nyawa hĕndak lalu!
Allah pun lalu dan Muhammad pun lalu;
Aku pun lalu.

A charm to avoid danger.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
Ho all ye living things

Get ye right and left out of my path!
I the prince of life would pass.
Allah passes by, Muhammad passes by,
I pass by.

(13) *Hai lubok bahar! pĕndekar 'alam!*
Aku kata kiri, kiri-lah ĕngkau!
Aku kata kanan, kanan-lah engkau!

Ho guns and cannons!
If I say left, let your shots pass to the left!
If I say right, let your shots pass to the right!

(14) *Bukan aku jijak atas bumi!*
Aku pijak di-atas batu kĕpala sakalian yang mĕnyawa!
Aku pakai chucha Jibrail!
Aku pakai chucha Mikail!
Aku pakai chucha Israfil!
Aku pakai chucha Azrail!
Aku pakai chucha baginda Ali!
Aku pakai chucha dzatu 'llah!

A charm to weaken a rival in fight.
It is not on the earth that I tread!
I tread on the heads of all living things!
I use a charm to bow down a rival,
The charm of the Four Archangels,
The charm of Ali,
A charm derived from Allah.

(15) *Bismi 'llahi-r-Rahmani-r-Rahimi!*
Hai harimau! Aku tahu asal ĕngkau!
Katak puru ĕmak ĕngkau, harimau!
Di-padang Sham kĕjadian ĕngkau, harimau!

A charm against tigers, to be recited thrice.
In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
Ho tiger! I know your origin.
Your mother, tiger, was a toad:
On the plains of Syria you were begotten.

(16) *Hai kul hu songsang!*
Songsang langit, songsang bumi!
Jin pulang ka-jin!
Shaitan pulang ka-shaitan!
Pĕrbuatan orang pulang ka-pada orang!
Hai jin kĕramat! jin kĕsakti!
Di-pusat tasek pauh janggi patah tĕbing runtoh,
Di-sana-lah tĕmpat ĕngkau!
Jangan ĕngkau masok tapak guru aku!
Jikalau ĕngkau masok tapak guru aku,
Ku-sumpah engkau dĕngan kata, "La ilaha illa 'llah Muhammad Rasulu 'llah."

Om! tawar! Sakalian ku-tawar!
Yahu Sulaiman innahu, 'Bis mi 'llah'!
Ho I borrow the words of the Koran
To turn earth and heaven upside down!
Genies and devils return to your kind!
Evil wrought by mortals return to them!
Genies of supernatural power!
Your home is at the navel of the sea!
By the tree on the broken rock!
Enter not the lines drawn by my teacher!
Else will I curse ye with the words, "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Apostle."
Om! I neutralize all evil!
Oh! Solomon in the name of God.

(17) *Bismi 'llahi-r-Rahmanī-r-Rahimi!*
Hai jin ibni jan! anak sidang Firaun!
Ĕngkau ku-chucha ka-pada asal mula mu jadi!
Aku tahu asal-mu mĕnjadi
Dari-pada lidah api nuraka asal mula mĕnjadi!
Izazul nama pĕnghulu mu!
Asal mula ĕngkau jadi dari-pada dzuriat shaitan!
Asal aku jadi dari-pada wadi madzi mani manikam!
Ujud-ku ujudu 'llah!
Sifat-ku sifatu 'llah!
Kata-ku kata Allah!
Jangan ĕngkau mĕlalui kata-ku!
Jangan ĕngkau mĕngĕloh-ngĕloh!
Jangan ĕngkau durhaka ka-pada aku!
Ĕngkau di-kutoki Allah!
Jangan ĕngkan mĕlalui kata-ku!
Ĕngkau di-binasakan Allah.
Jangan ĕngkan mĕlalui sumpah-ku!
Jĭkalan ĕngkau mĕlalui sumpah-ku,
Ĕngkau di-murkai Allah!
Aku.lah yang bĕrnama guliga Muhammad!
Bĕrkat doa, "La ilaha," etc.

Charm to overcome a genie.
In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate!
Genie descended from Jann! son of Pharoah!
I overcome thee by knowledge of thy origin,
Thy origin from a tongue of hell-fire!
Izazul is the name of thy chief.
Thou were born from the children of devils.
I was born from seed
Of the substance and form of God.
My words are God's words.
Sigh not nor disobey my words!
Commit not treachery towards me!

Else thou shalt be cursed of God.
If thou disobeyest my words,
Thou shalt be destroyed of God.
If thou disobeyest my curse,
Thou shalt suffer the wrath of God.
I am he that is called the bezoar-stone of the Prophet!
By virtue of the invocation, "There is no God," etc.

(18) *Bismi 'llahi' r-Rahmani-r-Rahimi!*
Haī tĕpong tawar! tĕpong jati!
Tĕpong asal mula mĕnjadi!
Bĕrkat tawar chintamani kĕkaseh Allah
Sĕdang mĕmagut tiada bīsa,
Sĕdang mĕlilit tiada layu,
Tulang mĕnjadi urat, urat tawar,
Akan pĕnawar sakalian yang bisa!
Akan pĕnawar sakalian hantu shaitan!
Tawar sa-ratus sĕmbilan puloh!
Tawar sa-ribu sĕmbilan-puloh!
Tawar Allah! tawar Muhammad! tawar Baginda Rasulu 'llah!

A charm to be recited at all ceremonies where neutralizing rice-paste is used.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
Ho magic primal rice-paste!
By virtue of the wish-snake beloved of God
Bites have no venom,
Coiling embraces no power to kill;
Bones become sinews
To charm away all venom!
To charm away all ghosts and devils!
Charms one hundred and ninety!
Charms one thousand and ninety!
Charms from God and Muhammad His Apostle!

(19) *Hai tĕpong tawar! tĕpong jati!*
Tĕpong asal mula mĕnjadi!
Turun dari hadzrat-u 'llah
Turun dari ĕmbun sa-titek!
Aku tahu asal mula mĕnjadi
Dari-pada ayer, ayer maa'l-hayat.
Bukan aku yang mĕnawar!
Rasulu 'llah yang mĕnawar!
Bukan aku yang mĕnyimpan tawar!
Jibrail, Israfil, Azrail yang mĕnyimpan tawar!
Tawar Allah sakalian pelak bahadi!
Tawar jĕmalang puaka!
Tawar sakalian hantu shaitan pada jajahan īni!

Om tawar ! maha tawar !
Nur Muhammad mĕmbawa tawar,
Tawar dari-pada kaabatu 'llah,
Tawar dĕngan bĕrkat Muhammad Rasulu 'llah !
Bĕrkat chahaya nur Allah gilang-gĕmilang,
Tawar dĕngan bĕrkat dzat Muhammad,
Bĕrkat bagīnda Rasulu 'llah !
Tawar dĕngan kata, " La īlaha īlla'llah,"
Sīah-lah sakalian bala sĕtĕru hantu shaitan !
Aku laung dĕngan kata, " ya hu ya man hua 'llahu' l-hak."

Primal rice-paste cool and cleansing,
That came down from Allah's presence,
From a drop of dew descended !
From the water whence eternal
Life comes—that your source of being !
'T is not I who'd cleanse and charm !
'T is the Apostle of God.
'T is not I who keep your magic qualities,
It is the four Archangels.
I use God's charm against all spirits,
Spirits that haunt persons and earth and places,
Against all ghosts and devils in this region.
Om ! great is your virtue ! [cleanse,
The brightness of the Prophet brings to charm to
A charm that came from the sacred place at Mekka,
A charm that works by the grace of Muhammad !
That works by the grace of the shining brightness of Allah !
That works by virtue of the Prophet's person !
By virtue of the creed, " There is no God but Allah."
Hence all evils, all foes, all ghosts and devils
For I say unto, " Thee who art the true God."

(20) *Bismi 'llahi-r-Rahmani-r-Rahimi !*
Ku-mulai dĕngan nama Allah.
Bukan dĕngan kuasa aku !
Dĕngan kuasa Allah !
Bukan dĕngan kĕhĕndak aku !
Dĕngan kĕhĕndak Allah !
Ĕngkau pun sa-orang hamba Allah !
Aku pun sa-orang hamba Allah !
Masing-masing mĕncharı rĕzĕki kita !
Jangan-lah kita bĕrsakit-sakit hati !
Jika barang kĕhĕndak-mu,
Pĕrgi-lah ĕngkau mĕngadap ka-hadzrat Allah taala !
Aku-lah mĕnanggong amanat Allah taala,
Bĕrkat, " La ilah," etc.

(A charm on opening ground.)
In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassion- [ate !

I begin with the name of Allah.
It is not my power or my will that is fulfilled;
It is the power and will of Allah!
You and I are Allah's servants,
Each seeking his daily bread!
Let us not be offended one with the other!
If there is any desire of your heart,
Go into the presence of God most high.
I carry out the will of God,
By virtue of the creed, "There is no God," etc.

(21) *Bismi 'llahi-r-Rahmani-r-Rahimi!*
A's-salam alaikum! Hai jin bumi gĕntar 'alam!
Aku firman Allah taala minta tanah ini!
Jika engkar mĕmbĕri pun, datang pada aku!
Jika bĕnar pun, datang-lah pada aku!
Jikalau ĕngkau tiada datang ka-pada aku,
Ĕngkau di-hanchorkan Allah!
Aku-lah raja insan!
Bĕrkat, "La ilahah," etc.

(An address to the earth-spirit on cutting soil for rice-fields or homestead.)

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
Greetings unto you, genie of the earth, shaker of the world!
I have God's mandate to ask for this soil!
Whether you grant my prayer or refuse,
Come unto me or be destroyed of God.
I am prince of mortals,
By virtue of the creed, "There is no God," etc.

(22) *Hai chintamani, bayang Allah!*
Kaseh ka-aku! Tundok ka-aku!
Aku taroh di-dalam † awan sarilan †!
Yang kĕchil mĕnjadi bĕsar!
Yang tua mĕnjadi muda!
Yang miskin mĕnjadi kaya!
A fa'alak! Ya Allah!
Bĕrkat aku pakai doa chintamani
Rĕzĕki tiada bĕrputusan;
Gajah puteh sa-bĕrang laut
Datang hantar rĕzĕki ka-pada aku,
Tujoh kali sa-hari,
Tujoh kali sa-malam.
Pinang sa-biji ku-makan,
Tĕlor sa-biji ku-kulum.
Bayang ini bayang Allah!
Bayang ini bayang Muhammad!
Bayang ini di-kaseh Allah!
Dĕngan bĕrkat, "La ilaha," etc.

(A charm for drought or famine.)

Wish-snake, shadow of Allah!
Love and bow down to me.
The small grows large, the old young, the poor rich!
By thy doing, O God!
In virtue of my use of this charm
Food cannot fail:
The white elephant from over the sea
Comes and brings me food
Seven times a day, seven times a night.
I eat a betel-nut: I suck an egg.
This shadow is the shadow of God and of His Prophet
This shadow is loved of God,
In virtue of the creed, "There is no God," etc.

(23) *Hai! aku tahu asal ĕngkau!*
Jin janong, di-daun bakau tiga lai,
Sa-lai ka-udara jadi jin hijau,
Sa-lai di-pintu rimba jadi jin hitam,
Sa-lai di-laut jadi jin puteh.
Hai jin di-tanjong! pulang ĕngkau ka-tanjong!
Hai jin di-tĕlok! pulang ĕngkau ka-tĕlok!
Hai jin di-bĕting! pulang ĕngkau ka-bĕting!
Hai jin di-harus! pulang ĕngkau ka-harus!
Hai jin di-sungai! pulang ĕngkau ka-sungai!
Hai jin, jĕmalang! undor-lah ĕngkau.
Jangan ĕngkau usek permainan kami,
Kĕrana kami hĕndak mĕndirikan maligai raayat Nabi Allah Sulaiman.
Bukan aku yang mĕndirikan!
Pawang tua yang mĕndirikan!
Bukan aku yang mĕndirikan!
Pawang muda yang mĕndirikan!
Dĕngan bĕrkat, "*La ilaha,*" etc.

(Recited by pawang trapping birds, fishing and so on.)

I know the source of you, genies!
From three mangrove leaves ye were sprung.
One soared to earth and became the green genie!
One fell at the gate of the forest and became the black genie!
One fell in the sea and became the white genie!
Genies of the foreland get ye home to your foreland!
Genies of the bays, and of the banks!
Genies of the currents and of the rivers!
Get ye home, each to your place.
Genies and gnomes! retreat,
Molest not this sport of mine;
For I build a bower for the people of the Prophet Solomon.

Nay ! it is not I who build it,
But an old magician, a young magician.
In virtue of the words, "There is no God," etc.

(24) *A's-salam alaikum*
Hai † Phra sangsang †, raja di-bumi !
† Siu-siu † raja di-kulit bumi !
Raja di-langit, raja di-udara !
Aku tahu asal ĕngkau.
Taikala pĕchah tĕtuban,
Darah sa-titek jatoh ka-bumi
Mĕnjadikan jin tanah, jĕmalang bumi
Aku panggil ĕngkau datang dĕngan sĕgĕra
Kĕrana dĕngan titah Nabi Allah Sulaiman.
Mari-lah ĕngkau dĕngan sĕgĕra
Mari ambil pĕrjamuan ĕngkau
Kĕrana aku minta tolong ĕngkau,
Boleh ĕngkau datang dĕngan sĕgĕra.
Jikalau ĕngkau ta' datang,
Aku sumpah ĕngkau dĕngan titah Nabi Allah Sulaiman.

(At opening a *ma'yong* shed.)
Greeting be unto you,
† Phra Sangsang † prince of the earth !
† Siu-siu † prince of the crust of the earth,
Prince of the sky, prince of the air !
I know the source whence you sprang
When birth was beginning,
A drop of blood fell to earth
Creating genies of the earth, gnomes of the soil.
I call you to come with speed
Because the Prophet Solomon commands ye.
Come with speed ! Come take my offering !
Come with speed ! For I ask your help.
If you come not, I will curse you by command of the Prophet Solomon.

(25) *Hai tĕmbakau tĕkoneng-koneng !*
Mari aku tanam di-atas pongsu
Kulit mĕnjadi tulang,
Tulang mĕnjadi batu,
Jadi kĕbal aku
Dĕngan kata, " La ilaha," etc.

(A charm for invulnerability. One puts the tobacco in one's mouth.)

Ho tobacco (?)
I plant you on an anthill.
Skin becomes bone, bone stone,
I become invulnerable, resilient,
By virtue of the words, " There is no God," etc.

XXX. ETHNOLOGICAL MISCELLANEA.

By IVOR H. N. EVANS, *M.A.*

(A) NOTES ON MALAY BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS.

(i) Sheet lightning is called *kilat gajah* (elephant lightning), as it is thought that when it is seen, elephants are journeying through the distant jungle. (Malays of Batu Kurau Perak, and also those of Pekan, Pahang.)

(ii) If hornets build a nest on a house, it is a sign that the occupants are about to leave it (Malays of Batu Kurau, Perak).

(iii) A riddle from Pekan :—

Ia, ia, tětapi bukan ia, tětapi ia mati kěrana ia.

The answer to this is an artificial spinning-bait (*kachau*) which is often made in the shape of a fish, the material generally being mother-of-pearl. A rough translation of the riddle is :—"It's it, but not it, but they die because of it." (*i.e.* It's a fish, but not a fish, but they die because of it).

(iv) *A rain charm.*—This is recited by children of Pekan, Pahang, when a storm appears to be approaching, the object being to drive away the threatening rain. Very probably the formula may have once been used by grown-ups in all seriousness.

Sana kěpala bĕruang ; sini kěpala itek :
Sana bahagi tuang ; sini jangan sa' titek.
There the head of a bear ; here the head of a duck.
Let it pour there ; but don't let's have a drop here.

(v) The people of Matang Pasir, Linggi, whom they go to gather cockles (*siput kĕrang*) will not go ashore from their boats at Kuala Linggi, on their way home, as they say that, when they do so the Kuala Linggi Malays always tell them in fun that some one has died, and, in consequence of this, all their cockles die and become unsaleable. (From a Malay of Matang Pasir, Linggi, Negri Sembilan.)

(vi) The custom of burning evil-smelling rubbish of a particular kind in order to drive away spirits is very common among the Malays. Raja Mutlak of Kuala Langat, Selangor tells me that the substances burnt are deserted birds' nests, rubbish from cross-roads, cobwebs and rubbish hanging from the floors of deserted houses. These should be burnt in an old wooden *gantang* measure which has been handed down for several generations (*gantang pĕsaka*). The various kinds of rubbish used are called *rabun*, but *rabun* also means dim-eyed or short-sighted. The idea seems to be that the magical

objects which are burnt prevent the spirits from seeing their prey clearly. Different kinds of *rabun* are used for different purposes.

(vii) The Linggi Malays when making vows at the Kĕramat Sungei Udang, a holy place which is much resorted to, have a peculiar method of divining whether their requests will be granted. A man takes a small stick and measures off a span on it with the thumb and the middle finger of the right hand. The span length he cuts off, and, having done so, holds it in the smoke of the incense which he burns while making his vow. He then re-measures the stick, and, if it appears to be more than a span long he believes that his petition will be favourably heard.

(viii) A butterfly entering a house denotes the forthcoming arrival of a visitor. (From a Malay of Parit Buntar, Perak.)

(B) Awang Durahman.

(A Malay folk-tale.)

(I took down the following little story—very quaint when told in Malay, but most difficult to translate into English—from Pandak Leman of Kampong Perak, in the Batu Kurau mukim of Larut, in December, 1917, I have tried to follow the Malay as closely as possible, and to preserve the jerky method of narration, which is intended to represent the flight of Awang Durahman's thoughts.)

Awang Durahman was sitting one day in a tumble-down hut in the rice-fields, while his mother was weeding among the young crop. He took two cents from his mother's *sireh*-wallet, and, as he held them in his hand, he said to himself, "With this money I'll buy two eggs, one a male, the other a female. After a time what a lot of fowls there'll be—thousands! These fowls too many! If so, sell these fowls. Buy ducks. Make a big pond; place for ducks to play. Ducks also many. '*Pak*'[1] up-stream, '*Pak*' down-stream! 'Whose ducks are these?' 'The ducks of Awang Durahman!' Ducks eat people's paddy. Sell the ducks; buy goats. Many goats go and eat people's crops. Very much trouble! 'Whose goats are these?' 'The goats of Awang Durahman!' Sell goats; buy oxen. Oxen not a few. '*Boh*'[2] up-stream, '*Boh*' down-stream! 'Whose oxen are these?' 'The oxen of Awang Durahman!' Sell oxen; buy many buffaloes. Milk them. That old woman[3] drinks lots of milk; eats lots of curds. 'Whose buffaloes are these?' 'The buffaloes of Awang Durahman!' Sell buffaloes; buy elephants. Elephants '*Ruh*'[4] up-stream, '*Ruh*' down-stream! Get into people's

[1] The quacking of the ducks.
[2] The lowing of the oxen.
[3] His mother.
[4] The noise made by the elephants.

villages. 'Whose elephants are these?' 'The elephants of Awang Durahman!' Young male elephant with tusks just enclosing its trunk.[1]

I tell mother to load it with dollars and bring it to the Raja's house, asking the hand of his daughter. Raja gives it. Raja builds a house for the marriage. When I have married, I sit in the *balei*.[2] Play chess. Princess comes, 'Come my lord and eat rice.' I don't want to. I give checkmate.[3] She comes again. She wears anklets, *chĕrong chĕring*.[4] 'Come my lord and eat rice.' I don't want to. I give checkmate.[5] She catches my hand. Digs me in the ribs. Dig her in the ribs.[6] *Chokok, chokok, chokok, chokok, chokok, chokok!*"

And as Awang Durahman dug himself in the ribs, first on one side, and then on the other, wriggling the while, the posts of the hut gave way, and he came to the ground cutting his legs on a tree-stump. "What's the matter with you, Awang Durahman?" said his mother "The Raja's daughter dug me in the ribs," answered Awang Durahman. "Where's the Raja's daughter?" asked his mother. "Oh, I was only thinking about her!" replied Awang Durahman.

(C) SOME NOTES ON ABORIGINES OF NEGRI SEMBILAN.

While engaged in making excavations at the stone monuments at Pengkalan Kempas in Negri Sembilan, I met some of the aboriginal inhabitants of the neighbourhood—seemingly Besisi—and paid their settlement a couple of visits. The following disconnected notes and short vocabulary are the results of my acquaintance with them. These people are, on the surface, now very much civilised, wearing Malay-fashion clothing, and no longer ordinarily making use of the blowpipe, of which I did not see a specimen among them.

Their village of four or five huts was situated on the borders of a Chinese rubber plantation, near a stream called Sungai Dĕrahka, and on ground, comprising a small patch of jungle and some clearings, which I understand, has been reserved to the aborigines by Government.

I could not discover that they have any tribal name, and, in asking a question as to what nationality a man belongs, whether Malay or Sakai, they simply say, "Is he a Malay or one of us?".

The tribal officers appear to be the Batin, the Jenang, the Jukrah and the Penghulu Balai.

I was told that other portions of the tribe are at Matang Pasir (Linggi), Labu, and at Telok Kemang, in the

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[1] *Gading apit bĕlalei*.
[2] Audience hall.
[3] *Sahya sah sahaja*.
[4] The sound of the anklets.
[5] *Sahya mat sahaja*.
[6] *Chuchok pinggang*.

neighbourhood of Port Dickson. The last division is under another Batin, the Batin recognised by the Sungai Dĕrahka people living at Batang Labu.

The few details that I could obtain about their beliefs and customs are given below :—

The *punan* beliefs, to which I have alluded in several former papers on the aborigines, are found among them, and anybody who has encountered misfortune through neglecting to satisfy some craving is said to have *kĕna sampok*.

The rice-soul (*semangat bek*) is cut by an old woman before reaping begins. It consists of seven ears, which are taken to the house, wrapped in a cloth, and tied to one of the central posts. The *semangat* is taken early in the morning, and immediately after this reaping is begun, and is continued for three days, but the fourth day is tabu (*pantang teturk bek*), and no work must be done on it.

The rice of the *semangat bek* is sown before the rest of the seed padi.

The circular leaf hut, according to an informant of mine, is not used by the Poyang (shaman). He is said to hold shoots of the *palas* and of the *bertam* palms in his hands while holding a séance (*sawai*). The Poyang's familiar is termed his *kenon*, *i.e.* child.

There seems to be little, if any, marriage ceremony, and divorce takes place at the wish of either party.

For forty-four days before the birth of a child an expectant mother must do no heavy work.

Circumcision and incision seem not to be practised.

In men—probably also in women—the six front teeth in the top jaw, the two pairs of incisors and the canines, are partly filled down. The teeth in the bottom jaw are left untouched.

The men whom I questioned professed agnosticism to me with regard to an existence after death, but, as food is placed on graves, I am inclined to think that they must have some ideas of the soul's survival after death.

With regard to the graves, which were mostly marked by wooden posts in the Malay manner, I noticed that the orientation of some of them appeared to be different from that of others, and, on questioning one of the inhabitants of the settlement, who was with me, he said that it was customary for the graves of the two sexes to be disposed differently. An examination of the grave-mounds seemed to show that the men's graves were dug so that the bodies lay with their heads towards the east, and, according to my informant, with their faces looking towards the north, while the orientation of the women's graves, and the disposal of the bodies, was such that the heads pointed to the west with faces towards the north.

Houses are deserted and burnt when a death occurs, and

I saw the remains of one which had been treated in this manner.

Vocabulary.

ENGLISH-MALAY	SAKAI-JAKUN.
Adze (bĕliong)	bahok.
Ancestor (moyang)	entah.
Ant (sĕmut)	pois.
Axe (kapak)	tajam (?).
Back (bĕlakang)	chelon.
Bathe, to (mandi)	hum.
Bear (bĕruang)	gomok
Bird (burong)	chim.
Blood (darah)	maham.
Blowpipe (sumpitan)	bĕlau.
Body (badan)	kret.
Boy (anak jantan)	kenon lemol.
Cat (kuching)	chantel.
Centipede (lipan)	kih-ip.
Child (anak)	kenon.
Civet-cat (musang)	kusau.
Cloud (awan)	kawul.
Cockroach (lipas)	kĕlosop.
Cold (sĕjuk)	hau.
Cook rice, to (bertanak)	tagak.
Dart (damak)	domok.
Deer (rusa)	kior.
Dog (anjing)	chor.
Ear (tĕlinga)	teung.
Earth (tanah)	teh.
Eat, to (makan)	chehchar.
Elephant (gajah)	merat.
Father (bapa)	ekuin.
Fire (api)	us.
Fish (ikan)	ka.
Fly (lalat)	wai.
Foot (kaki)	jong.
Fowl (ayam)	krangoit.
Girl (anak betina)	kenon kedol.
Hair (rambut)	suk.
Hand (tangan)	ti.
Head (kĕpala)	koie.
Hill (bukit)	chong.
Hot (panas)	ringai,
House (rumah)	dong, dok
Jungle (utan)	chorn.
Knee (lutut)	buk.
Knife (pisau)	penebul.
Leap, to (lompat)	tunjang.
Lightning (kilat)	klemayang.

English-Malay	Sakai-Jakun.
Liver (hati)	gris.
Mosquito (nyamok)	kebok.
Mother (mak)	gendek.
Mountain (gunong)	chong.
Mouse-deer (pělandok)	usau.
Neck, back of (těngkok)	bal.
Nose (hidong)	moh.
One (satu)	moi.
Path (jalan)	chor.
Pig (babi)	ketor.
Poison for darts (ipoh)	cheh.
Quiver for darts (tabong damak)	leuk.
Rat (tikus)	kanek.
Rhinocerous (badak sumbu)	lieng.
Sandfly (agas)	amait.
Sit, to (dudok)	kom.
Skin (kulit)	sek.
Sleep (tidor)	yetek.
Smoke (asap)	jelug.
Squirrel (tupai)	koniot.
Stomach (pěrut)	er-oit.
Sun (mata hari)	met hari.
Three (tiga)	himpit.
Throat (leher)	jinjang.
Thunder (guroh)	rintah.
Tiger (harimau)	tuek.
Tooth (gigi)	lemoin
Tortoise (baning)	yeoh.
Turtle, soft (lělabi)	paash.
Two (dua)	mah.
Wood (kayu)	long.

XXXI. ON THE ANCIENT STRUCTURES ON KEDAH PEAK.

By Ivor H. N. Evans, M.A.

It has been known for a good number of years that ancient remains exist on Kedah Peak. They were first discovered by Mr. F. W. Irby, Perak Trigonometrical Survey, in 1894, through his coolies accidentally setting fire to the peaty deposit which then covered the whole of the mountain top. On the fire burning out, a platform about sixteen feet square was disclosed, this being edged with two courses of dressed granite blocks. A hole, with a diameter of about two-and-a-half feet and a depth of two feet, was found in centre of the platform. The space surrounding this "well" and within the granite-edged square, was, if I understand Messrs. Irby's and Lefroy's reports[1] correctly, filled with bricks of roughly dressed laterite.

In addition to the above-mentioned platform (marked *A* in Mr. Irby's plan) he found traces of nine small "hearths" on the southern and precipitous edge of the summit, and those of another platform or "large hearth," with a hole (*C*) not far from it, at the south-western end of the mountain top. Furthermore, he and Mr. Lefroy were able to trace the remains of a rubble wall running from the south-western end of the summit in a north-easterly direction for 160 or 170 feet, finally disappearing under the unburnt remainder of the peat. Roughly N.W. of the platform (*A*), too, another hole was encountered which is marked *B* on their plan.

On June 16th, 1921, accompanied by Mr. W. M. Gordon, Temporary Assistant, F.M.S. Museums, I started excavation work on the mountain.

A preliminary inspection of the summit unfortunately only confirmed what I had heard previously—that the constructors of the present survey beacon had plundered the remains discovered by Mr. Irby, using the stones and bricks so obtained in making foundations for the iron legs of the beacon. This act of vandalism was quite unnecessary, as there is plenty of the local quartz-sandstone to be obtained with a little trouble.

Nearly the whole of the mountain top appearing to be almost bare rock, I decided to deal with the western end, the only part which looked at all promising, for it was here only that the peaty deposit remained intact, since it had not been burnt at the time of Mr. Irby's visit.

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[1] *Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, Vol. I, pp. 76–81.

Starting work from the edge of the hole (*B*) which was found by Mr. Irby, the coolies cleared away the peat and earth to a depth of from two to two-and-a-half feet. It then became evident that what had appeared to be a hole with slightly elevated edges, was a depression in the top of a truncated cone, which had been constructed of rubbly bricks. The cone was faced with blocks of dressed granite, with bricks interspersed in places, on the side nearest to the platform and hole (*A*) discovered by Mr. Irby. Furthermore this sheathing was continued as a rough pavement to the edge of the remains of Mr. Irby's platform. The rest of the cone was without sheathing. Rough measurements of the cone are as follows: depth, after excavation to bedrock, just over one metre; diameter four metres (*circa*). The pavement had a maximum breadth of four metres.

Excavation of the depression at the apex of the cone resulted in the discovery of only one object of interest. This was a ring-stone of granite. It was encountered at a depth of three feet and its material is the same as that of the dressed granite blocks. Its exterior diameter is roughly 23 cms., while that of the hole is 12·5 cms., the breadth of the edge in any one place being roughly 5·5 cms, and the depth about 10 cms.

Some burnt remains, seemingly of former vegetation, were encountered in a little bay on the north-western side of the pavement, close to Mr. Irby's platform. These remains extended also under the pavement, as was proved by digging away a little earth. The probability is, therefore, that the vegetation of the hilltop was burnt off before the pavement was laid.

Charcoal was fairly common in the soil around the cone and pavement, but was not present in large quantities. Some was also met with in the hollow in the cone.

The platform found by Mr. Irby, as remarked above, had been almost totally destroyed, but a rubbly brick foundation, on which it had rested, was laid bare when a small amount of humus was scraped away, and also a fragment of the pavement itself—composed of bricks and granite blocks, not of laterite—as well as three of the granite edging stones, still in position. Excavation of the hole in the centre yielded nothing of interest, as a large boulder, possibly merely an outcrop of the local rock was encountered almost immediately, and, as to have removed this, if possible, would have involved further destruction, I decided not to attempt to do so.

When these parts of the remains had been explored, I turned my attention to the northern edge of the mountain-top in the vicinity, for here also the peaty deposit had not been burnt. On stripping this away we came across rubbly bricks embedded in earth, forming a rough platform and a

slight glacis on the slope of the hill and, in clearing the loose rubble, we found three fragments of stone rings, similar to that described above. The platform abutted on the remains at *A*, discovered by Mr. Irby, as well as on the pavement and cone unearthed by myself. The glacis may be the continuation of the rubble wall mentioned by Mr. Lefroy. All trace of this wall in the open now seems to have disappeared. The remains may have been plundered to form the foundation for the beacon, but it is more probable that they were destroyed when the present path to the top of the mountain was constructed.

With regard to the row of nine so-called fire-places, mentioned as running along the precipitous southern edge of the mountain top, very slight traces can now be seen. Mr. Lefroy speaks of finding "indications of nine small hearths, about four feet square," but I was only able to trace some of these and, even then, the identifications were in most cases doubtful, with the exception of the two near the cone (*B*), as the soil of the summit had been swept away almost to bedrock.

On exploring the extreme south-western end of the summit, a hole, apparently the same as that shown in Mr. Irby's plan (*C*), was discovered. This appeared to me to be a comparatively recently-dug well. Three dressed blocks of granite were found near it on the surface, but these may have been moved to their present position at a recent date. Digging in the hole, which was carried down to bedrock, produced nothing, neither is it lined with brick as are those in the cone and the pavement. Indications of the large hearth marked on Mr. Irby's plan as lying near *C* are still to be seen, but nothing of interest was found there.

But little restoration work could be attempted, but the stone and brick sheathing of the cone and the pavement were treated with cement, the cracks between the stone and bricks being filled in with this material, partly in order to preserve the remains against weathering, partly in order to discourage future plunderers. Furthermore as many of the dressed granite slabs as could be found—either at the base of the beacon, or elsewhere—were collected and placed round the edge of the foundations of the square platform which was discovered by Mr. Irby, the rest of the space between this and the hole (*A*) being filled in with pieces of brick, so as to form a rough reconstruction of the pavement. No cement was used here. Mr. Irby has put it on record that the granite edging of the pavement consisted of two courses, but we were not able to collect a sufficient number of stones to carry out the restoration according to his description.

A striking fact about the materials used in the construction of the remains on Kedah Peak in their miscellaneous, and often fragmentary, nature. The granite blocks vary

considerably in size and some of them are chamfered at one edge, the edges being sometimes rounded, sometimes angular. The bricks, too, were of at least three types, and, when found undisturbed, as in the pavement, were often merely broken pieces. One or two fragments show signs of glaze, but in the case of some, which have a blackish, shining coating on them, I believe that this is due to the fusion of chemicals, naturally present in the clay, when the bricks were baked. Other pieces have a light greenish crackled glaze on them, but the irregular nature of its distribution here again inclines me to believe that the glazing is accidental and not intentional. One type of brick, of a light yellow clay, was, when first uncovered, particularly friable, but seemed to harden to a certain extent when exposed to the atmosphere.

As far as I was able to observe, on the sheathed side of the cone and on the pavement, the materials had often been used without any attempt at classification and just as they came to hand—here a brick and there a slab of granite. No kind of mortar or cement was used throughout the construction, and the work was extremely rough. Where granite slabs with chamfered edges were employed—there were a few in the pavement—I could not see that in their disposal any special use had been made of them. I am inclined to think, therefore, that from the indiscriminate use of the materials and their somewhat fragmentary nature they were very likely obtained from some pre-existent building and were transported to the mountain top to be used a second time.

Other points which have still to be dealt with are the purpose of the buildings and their age. It is much to be regretted that our excavations did not throw more light upon these two problems. It is obvious that such a mass of material would not have transported with so much trouble to the top of a high mountain unless for some reason which was, at any rate, sufficiently cogent to those who were responsible for undertaking the work.

A suggestion has been made by Mr. Lefroy that the top of the mountain might possibly have been used as a sort of lighthouse, "signal fires being kept burning to guide mariners, sailing from Sumatra at night," but, as he says immediately after this, "it is improbable materials such as cut granite and bricks would have been carried 4,000 feet up a mountain side to form a base for a signal fire when there was any quantity of sandstone, much easier to work, ready to hand."

For myself, I feel certain that the reason for these structures must be sought in religion. In many religions there is a tendency to consider the tops of high mountains as sacred, and sacred mountains are recognised both in Buddhism and Hinduism. Now, though there is a possibility that Mohamedans (Malays after their conversion to Mohame-

danism) may have been responsible for the remains on Kedah Peak, yet there is no reason for ascribing them to a date after the advent of Mohamedanism, in fact rather the reverse, since the present Malay inhabitants of the country knew nothing of them until their discovery by Mr. Irby, though, when once discovered, they were not backward in inventing stories to account for them.

Now providing that the people who built on Kedah Peak were the same as those who were responsible for the cutting of the granite slabs and the making of the bricks, they must have reached a stage in civilization considerably higher than that the present-day Malays. The probability is that, judging by other remains which have been found in the country, they were by religion either Hindus or Buddhists, or both, for both Hinduism and Buddhism were, at one time, co-existent and co-operative in Java, and even in India, as they are at the present day in Bali, and to a small extent in Siam, where, though the people are more Buddhist than anything else, Brahmin priests are still employed in certain State ceremonies.

Unfortunately the objects found during excavation throw but little light on the date of the Kedah Peak remains. With the exception of some fragments of Chinese porcelain, all parts of a single plate, no pottery of any kind was encountered, nor were any objects of bronze, iron, or other metal. I am, furthermore, very doubtful whether the pieces of Chinese porcelain, blue-and-white ware, which I ascribe to a late period of the Ming dynasty, are contemporaneous with the stone and brick remains. One fragment of the plate was found directly under the peaty deposit and the others at no great depth, chiefly near Mr. Irby's platform (*A*). The pieces may very possibly have worked down through the peat to the position in which they were found. Plates of the type and period are still in use among Malays in out-of-the-way parts of the country and specimens of this and of older wares are often brought to the towns by hawkers of curiosities, who have purchased them in the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra.

An inspection of other ancient remains which may be discovered in Kedah is the most likely to lead to further knowledge about those on Kedah Peak, and, luckily, I have had an opportunity of visiting one other site. On my return from the Peak to Sungai Patani Mr. J. J. P. Davies of that place told me that an ancient stone statue and some brickwork had been found on Sungai Batu Estate, very kindly offering to drive us over the next day to see these objects of interest. Naturally I accepted his kind offer. On arriving at the estate we were shown a mound, consisting chiefly of laterite, whose present measurements are about thirty-nine by fifty-seven feet. Its height was difficult to

judge owing to the fact that termites had constructed a big nest on the site. The mound was, I understand, originally more or less round in outline, but had been partly dug away to obtain laterite, and a square trench had also been cut round it. At the base of the mound, where it has been intersected by the ditch three or four courses of stones, rounded by river action, can be observed. These are firmly bedded in hard laterite. A few scattered bricks are to be seen in the earth above these, and a specimen which I obtained is of very similar type to some of those from Kedah Peak. I was informed that nothing of interest was found when the mound was prospected for laterite.

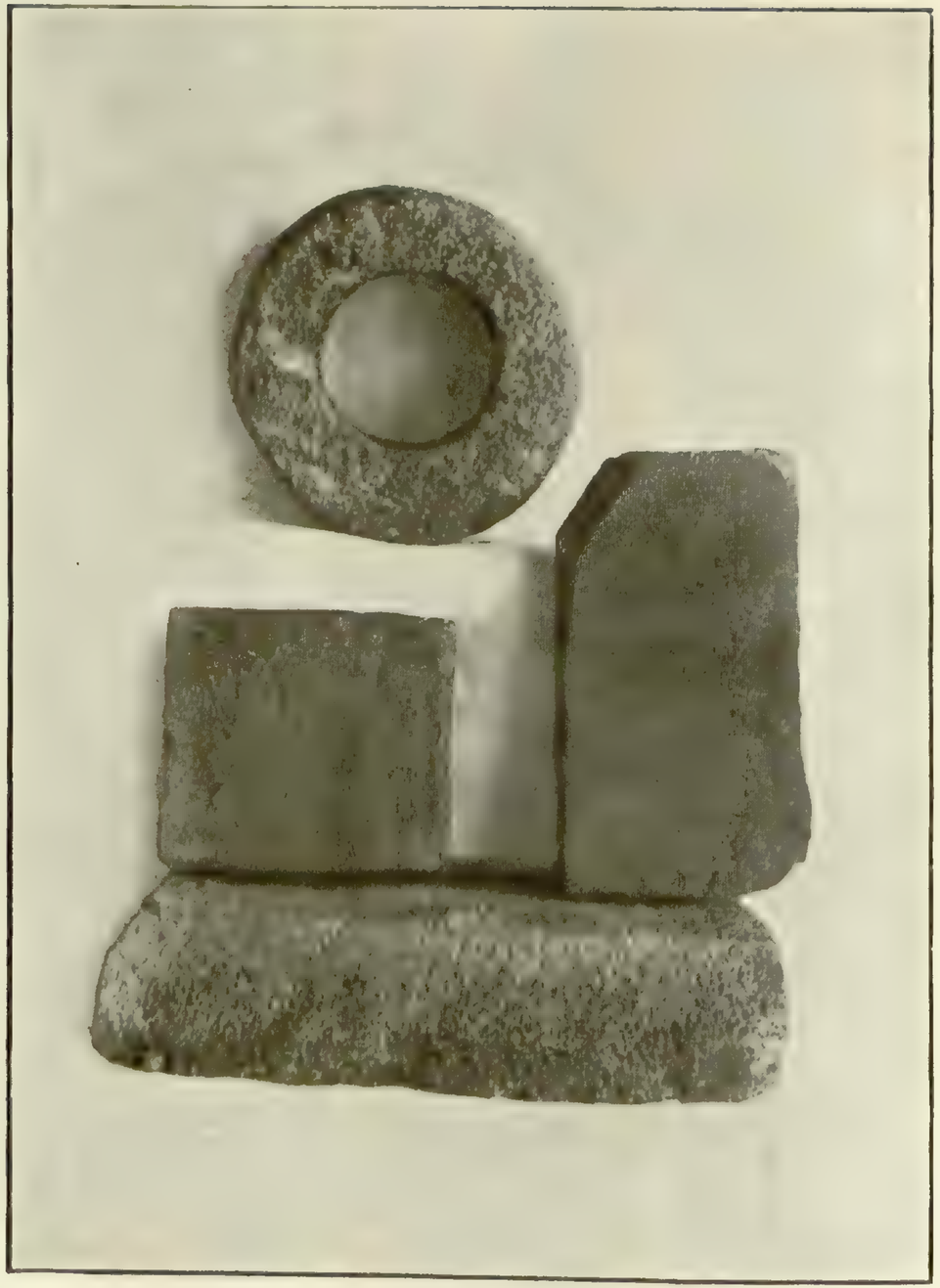
The statue to which I have referred above was discovered about a hundred yards away, lying loose, on the banks of a small river, the Sungai Bujang. It is obviously of Hindu origin, and probably represents, according to M. Coedés, Devi, the wife of Siva, triumphing over Mahishāsura. The figure, which is 67 cms. high, is of finegrained granite, similar to that of the dressed granite slabs on Kedah Peak. It is unfortunately much weathered, but, as far as it is possible to judge, the treatment of the subject has been fairly vigorous. A club-like object is borne in the right hand, and, on the left hand side, where two arms are visible, one is raised and holds some rather crescent-shaped object, while the other hangs beside the body.

Probably the mound is the remains of a small shrine from which the figure came. I am inclined to think that the people who were responsible for the structures on Kedah Peak were contemporaneous with those who placed the Hindu Statue on Sungai Batu Estate, or, if they were not, that they plundered buildings of the Hindu period of their stonework and bricks.

What the remains on Kedah Peak are must still remain problematical, but I think it possible that the conical structure may have been a *dagoba*, the ring-stone, perhaps, crowning its summit. The hole (*A*) which Mr. Irby discovered in the pavement presents a problem which I cannot attempt to solve. It appears to have been too shallow to have made a satisfactory well.

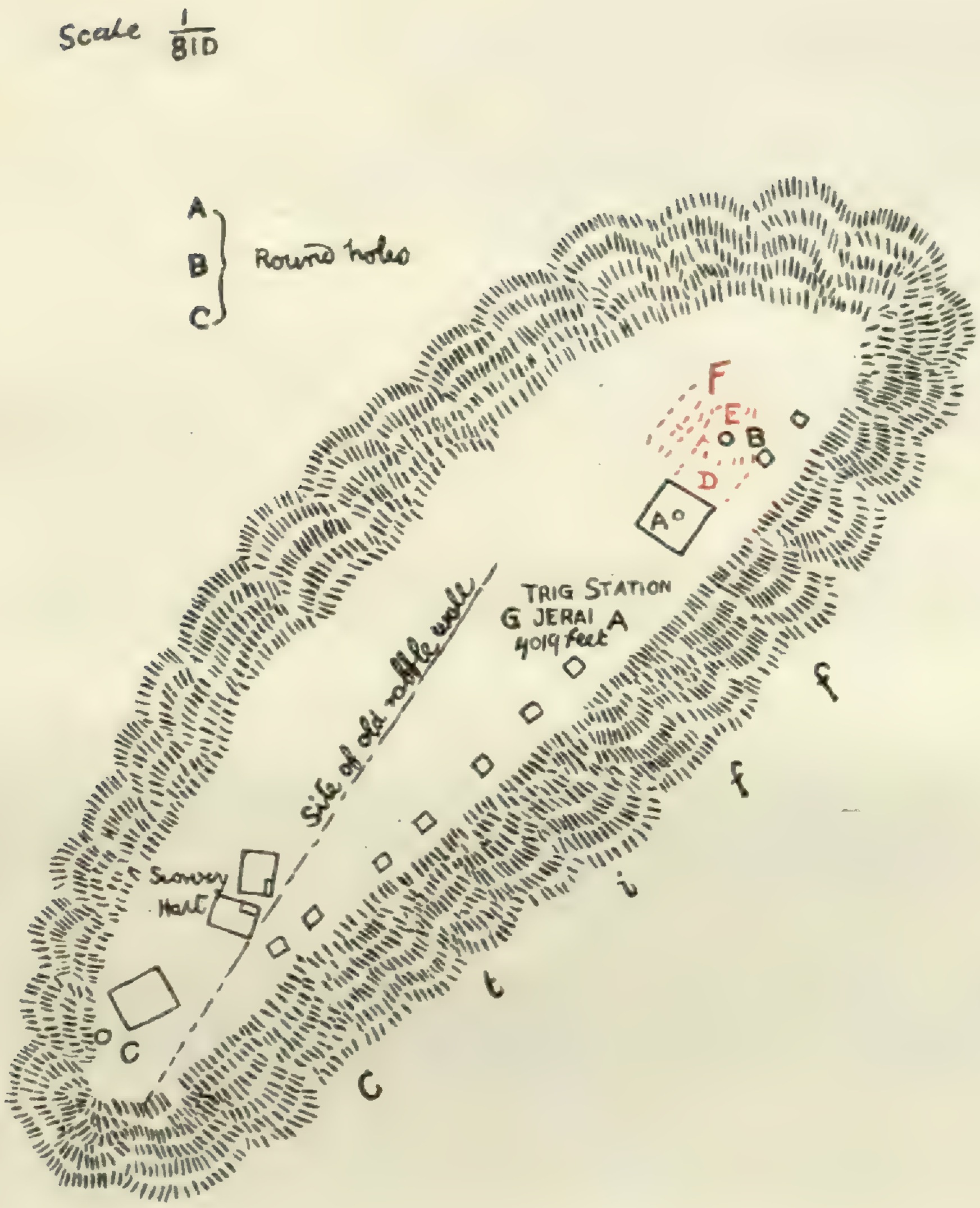
ANCIENT REMAINS ON KEDAH PEAK.

(1) Sheathing of Cone and the Pavement (after treatment with cement).
(2) The Cone and Pavement. A near view.
(3) Attempted Reconstruction of Mr. Irby's Platform. The Cone is seen behind.



(1) Granite Ring, two Types of Bricks and Chamfered Granite Slab from Kedah Peak.

(2) Hindu Figure from Sungai Batu Estate, Kedah.



Mr. Irby's plan of the top of the Kedah Peak with new discoveries marked in red.

D Pavement; E Cone; F Glacis.

XXXII. ON A FIND OF STONE IMPLEMENTS AT TANJONG MALIM.

By IVOR H. N. EVANS, M.A.

The find of stone implements described in this paper is chiefly interesting in that the specimens discovered appear to have been either part of a hoard, or to have formed a portion of the stock-in-trade of an ancient factory.

The credit for the first discovery belongs to Captain F. W. Howl of the Federated Malay States Railways who picked up a single specimen on a piece of "made" ground which lies between the Kuala Lumpur and Court Roads at Tanjong Malim. The soil of this is said to have come from the site of the new Malay Teachers' College.

Information with regard to this find was sent to me by the Hon'ble Mr. W. G. Maxwell, C.M.G., and, as business took me to Kuala Lumpur within a few days of receipt of the news, I, accompanied by Mr. W. M. Gordon, Temporary Assistant, F.M.S. Museums, paid a visit to Tanjong Malim on the way.

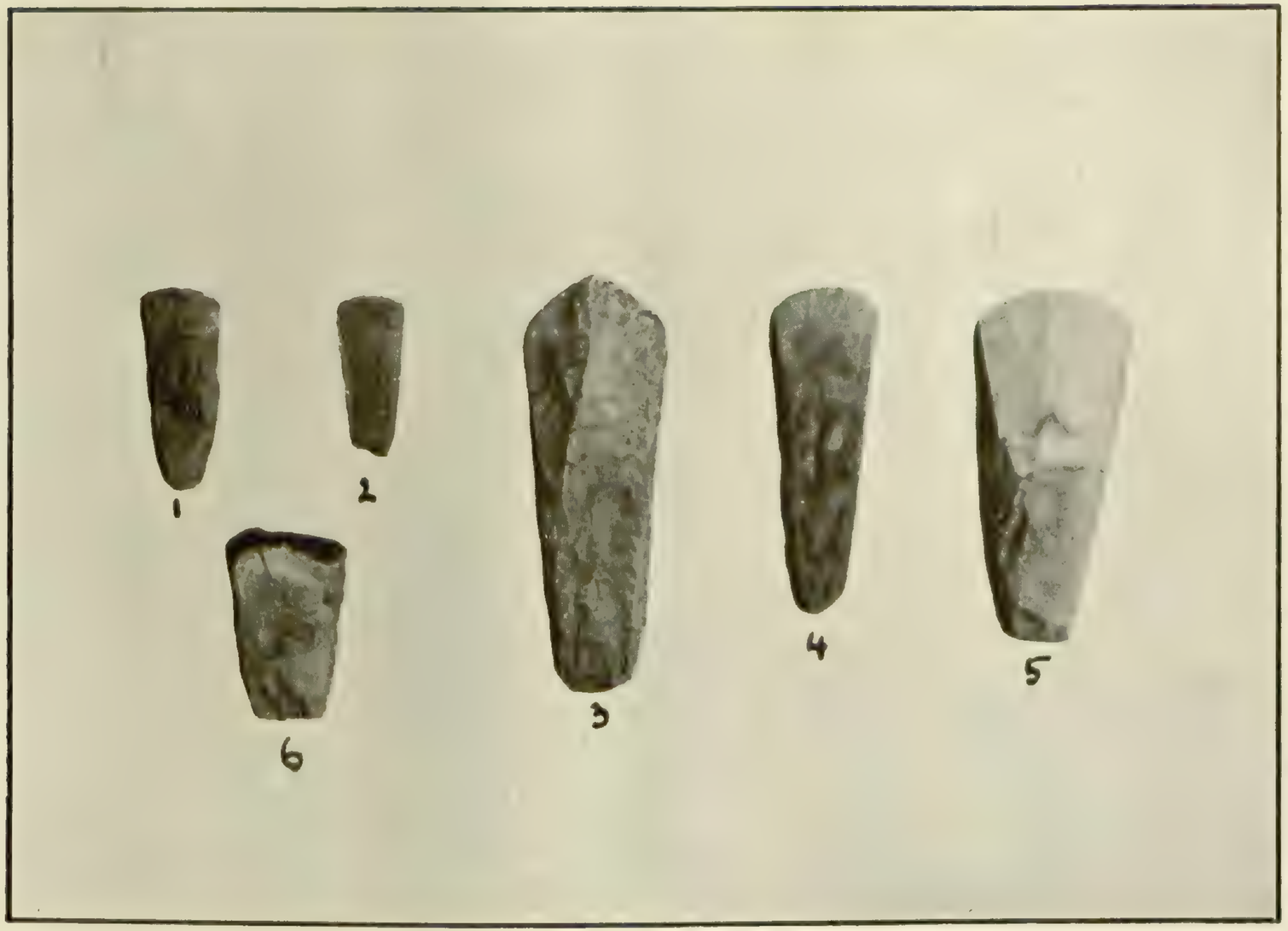
On meeting Captain Howl, he showed us a portion of another implement which he had picked up since his first discovery—the original specimen was not in his possession at the time. We then walked to the spot where the finds had been made, but a somewhat extensive search proved fruitless, except for the discovery of a fragment of rough pottery, seemingly ancient, which may, or may not, be contemporaneous with the stone implements. On extending our range, however, to near the corner where the Court Road meets that which runs towards Kuala Lumpur, I at once came upon a small stone axe-head (No. 1) the discovery being followed almost immediately by that of two others (Nos. 2 and 3) by Messrs. Howl and Gordon. On a further search, conducted a little later in the day, I picked up two more implements (Nos. 4 and 5) which were lying only about three inches apart.

On October 20th, 1921, about a month after my first search, I again visited Tanjong Malim with a view to further exploration of the site. On this occasion I succeeded in finding a portion of an implement (No. 6) and a small water-worn boulder, which has a concave surface on one side. Both objects were picked up at the site of our previous discoveries, and all the specimens, including those just mentioned, occurred within a radius of about eighteen feet. No other boulders were encountered on the "made" ground and it seems probable, from the close association of this

object with the stone implements, that it may have been used as a grinding or sharpening stone. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that its concave surface, especially towards the centre, is much smoother than its other parts.

The implements from Tanjong Malim present no very special points of interest and are all of types commonly found in the Peninsula. The interest of the find lies, as remarked above, in the association of a number of specimens. I have heard stories of the discovery of hoards of stone implements before, one from a Malay of Lenggong in Upper Perak, one of a Malay in Pahang who told Mr. T. R. Hubback that he had come across a heap of stone circlets, and produced two as evidence, saying that he had taken four from the hoard, but that two had been lost.

It was extremely unfortunate that the contractor and his coolies, who were responsible for the removal of the soil from its original site, and its deposition in its present position, had left Tanjong Malim before my first visit, as I was thus unable to question them as to whether they had picked up any implements or other objects of interest and whence they had excavated the earth. Several persons living in the neighbourhood asserted, however, that the soil had been removed from the neighbourhood of the Malay Training College, the construction of which had then been almost completed.



STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM TANJONG MALIM.

XXXIII. THE POTTING INDUSTRY AT KUALA TEMBELING.

By IVOR H. N. EVANS, M.A.

At Kuala Tembeling in Pahang a considerable potting industry is still carried on, this being one of the few stations in the Peninsula where Malays are engaged in making pottery.

An account of a similar industry on the Perak River has already been given by L. Wray (J.R.A.I., Vol. XXXIII, p. 24 *et seqq*) and this may be read for purposes of comparison.

The clay used by the Kuala Tembeling potters—women—is, when unbaked, of a yellow colour, and, according to my informant is obtained from between layers of stone (*di-gali di chĕlah batu*) at a place called Pasir Durian. After excavation, it is pressed into reticulate, conical carrying-baskets (*ambong*) and conveyed, chiefly by boat, to the potters' houses. Arrived there; it is soaked in water and then placed on a slab of wood—a section of a tree-trunk—on which it is pounded with a wooden pestle until it is worked into a homogeneous mass, any impurities, such as stones or roots, being removed while it is undergoing this treatment. It is then ready for use.

No true potters' wheel is found among the Malays of the Peninsula, but a primitive substitute is made by the Tembeling people by rotating by hand a round winnowing-tray, or a flat sieve, on the above-mentioned wooden slab. A piece of coarse matting is placed in the tray and on this sufficient clay to form a pot.

Starting work in this manner, a potter, whose house I visited on two occasions, made, at my request, a specimen of the ordinary earthen cooking-bowl (*blanga*). The lump of clay was quickly and cleverly worked up with the right hand until the sides and lip of the vessel had been thrown, the sieve, meanwhile, being rotated "against the clock" with the left. The only aid used was a piece of wet rag which was chiefly employed in throwing the lip of the vessel.

On reaching this stage it was necessary to stop to allow the clay to harden somewhat, before removing the vessel from the tray in order to give it the rounded bottom which is general in vessels of this type. The remainder of the demonstration, therefore, was postponed till the next day, when I again visited the house. The clay of the vessel had by this time become a good deal drier, but, as the potter, explained, was not yet really sufficiently hard. However, as

I could not pay her another visit, she said that she would do her best.

On resuming work, the pot was carefully removed from the tray, placed upside down on the potter's knee, and its base beaten into shape externally with a wooden implement (*pĕnepak*) used like a bat, but shaped like a Malay working-knife.

When a sufficient degree of rotundity had been obtained, the bottom and sides of the vessel were scraped over on the outside with a knife-shaped sliver of bamboo (*pĕndĕdak*) in order to remove superfluous clay.

The next process was the smoothing of the outer surface of the pot, and this was accomplished with the aid of a polishing-stone (*pĕnggangsar*), a smooth pebble of quartz, such as may be picked up among the shingle of any Pahang river. The specimens used by potters, however, have generally attained a certain polish owing to constant use.

After this a decoration of a row of short perpendicular lines was scored on the body of the vessel below the lip, the *pĕndĕdak* being the tool used in producing them.

This completed the treatment of the outside of the vessel but the inside, particularly at the bottom, still remained in a rough state. In the finishing of the interior a rough circlet of brass was the chief implement used. This was like a flattened bracelet and fairly sharp at the edges. The implement, which is called *pĕngukut*, was grasped firmly with the right hand so that about half of it projected beyond the knuckles, and, with the edge of this projecting portion the superfluous clay on the inside of the vessel was rapidly scraped away, the action being similar to that used in scraping out the contents of a gourd. When sufficient clay had been removed, the interior of the vessel was moistened with water with the hand and finished off with the polishing-stone.

The vessel was then set aside to dry, until ready for firing. The length of the time before firing takes place appears, on average, to be about a week, but a good deal depends on the state of the weather. Pots are kept under cover while drying.

While in the neighbourhood of Kuala Tembeling, I had no opportunity of seeing pottery fired, but I understand that the vessels are heaped up, one on top of another, in a pile and are then protected by a four-sided structure built up of pieces of wood placed across and across. Around this a stack of wood is heaped up, and the whole pile ignited. The colour of the pottery after firing changes from yellow to red ochre.

The chief types of vessel made are the open cooking-bowl (*blanga*), which sometimes has a cover, the water-gourd (*labu tanah*), the large cooking-pot (*pĕrick*) and the wide-

mouthed water-vessels called *těrěnang* and *buah dĕlima*, the latter being also sometimes termed *bangking*.

The water gourd is manufactured in two pieces, top and lower portion, the parts being carefully joined when the clay has dried a little.

The *pĕriok* calls for little attention. It is unornamented.

The *těrěnang* and the *buah dĕlima* are decorated with patterns made with small stamps of bamboo or wood. The *těrěnang* is a storage vessel for drinking water. A small pottery plate is often used to cover its mouth and on this rests a half-cocoanut-shaped bowl, which is used as a drinking cup. The *buah dĕlima* fulfils the same purpose as the *těrěnang*, and also frequently has the small cup and plate as well as a saucer placed below it, but whereas the *těrěnang* is a rather pot-bellied vessel with only a slight rim at its base, the *buah dĕlima* is taller, not nearly so broad, and has a well-developed foot. The name *buah dĕlima* means "pomegranate fruit," and the vessel certainly has a shape approaching that of the fruit. As is well known, and has been pointed out by L. Wray, several types of Malay vessels are derived from fruits which are still, with a little adaptation, used for the same purposes as the clay utensils. Thus the clay, or silver, drinking bowl is derived from the half cocoanut-shell, still commonly put to this use; the clay water-bottles from two species of gourd and the larger types of water-vessel probably from the cocoanut-shell water-pot, still commonly used. The pomegranate, however, cannot have been turned to any such used.

XXXIV. SOME MALAY BELIEFS.

By INCHE WAN LELA, *Penghulu Lipis, Pahang.*

(Translated by IVOR H. N. EVANS.)

[The following notes are Wan Lela's own composition. I, with the exception of translating them, have done nothing more than suggest, in a general way, subjects about which he might write. Wan Lela tells me that he, personally, does not believe a great deal of what he has set down; he merely records current, or old-time, beliefs.]

About Stone Implements.

Now the Malays say that thunder-bolts (i.e. stone implements) originate in the earth of the mounds made by "white ant." In the first place the thunder-bolts arise in the earth of "white ant" mounds, being made by *kayak-kayak*, that is a form of "white ant," and these *kayak-kayak*, make them in rows and arrange them in layers, and, after a long time, the earth (of which they are made) becomes hard. Then, after the period of their concealment is finished when lightning comes, the mounds break, and these stones become like bullets and strike trees, houses and animals wherever they may be; and sometimes they strike human beings as well

Malays also say that the reason why different objects are struck by (*di-panah*, "struck as by an arrow") thunderbolts or thunder (*sic*) is because devils and fiends are sheltering in the place; so that is the reason for it.

When thunder-bolts are found by Malays, they have some slight uses for them—as stones for sharpening all kinds of small knives, or *kĕris* or other blades; and another use is to put them into the pot which holds the water for bathing small children, since they say that, when they put one into the water, the child's body will be strong and moreover will not be much approached by diseases.

Thunder-bolts, such as are black, are also used by goldsmiths, as touch stones, to try whether the carat of gold is good or not. When they rub the gold on the stone, a little sticks to it, and then they brush it over with acid to see if it is silver or brass, which can certainly be told.

[There are two points of interest in this account which are worthy of a note concerning them, the belief that stone implements originate in nests of the termite and that they are deposited in layers. I am inclined to think that there is a substratum of fact underlying these ideas, though the Malays have argued wrongly from the premises. Firstly, it is not at all unlikely that stone implements, which are common in some localities, are frequently brought to the surface on, or in, the nests of the termite, just as fragments of ancient pottery, Roman coins and stone implements are in England by burrowing rabbits; Secondly, we have two well authenticated instances of hoards of stone implements having been found in the Peninsula,

and probably they are not very uncommon. Very likely the implements of a hoard are sometimes "arranged in rows" (*bĕrkotak-kotak*) and "in layers" (*bĕrlapis lapis*) like the cells in a termites' nest, so, if a hoard was found in such a nest, the above-mentioned beliefs would easily arise.—I. H. N. E.]

Some Pahang Beliefs.

Now these are some of the old time tabus of the Malays of the interior of Pahang :—

Supposing that anyone, on coming down from his house to go anywhere, trips over some object, they say the meaning is that whatever he wants to do will be delayed; it will not be very successful.

Again supposing that we encounter a snake crossing in front of us while on a journey, whether we are travelling on foot or by boat: if the snake comes from the left and goes towards the right, they call this "the *kĕris* plucked out of its sheath," and the meaning of its going in this way is that the result of whatever we wish to do will be good and will be attained quickly. Supposing, however, the snake comes from the right and goes to the left, they call this "the *kĕris* going into the sheath," and its meaning is that we shall be rather late in attaining our object in whatever we undertake.

Another belief is that if we are going either up-stream or down-stream, in a *pĕrahu*, and a monitor-lizard crosses in front of us, it is a most "mischancy" animal and brings bad luck to the Malays, so, when we meet with one, we immediately curse it and spit at it.

Again if we are going up-stream or down-stream (in a boat) or walking and see a jungle fowl flying in front of us. that means, they say, that we shall hear of a death somewhere or other.

There is also a superstition that if we are walking or going up-stream or down-stream, and a *gud-gud* bird (*Centropus sinensis*) crosses our path, wherever it may be, it is, so the old people say, very ill-omened and unlucky, and it will not be of any use to search for any kind of "daily bread" (*rĕzĕki*), so we spit at it and curse it.

Now the *gud-gud*, too, if it calls at night near a village or house, say the Malays, signifies that somebody in the village will die, because the bird has foreseen it, and that, too, becomes a great cause of anger to people, so they say.

Also if the owl called "Grandmother Winnower" (the "Tear-the Shrowd"[1] owl) makes a noise near a house in a village at night, that also is considered very unlucky, and, so they say, somebody in the village will die.

And if the *burong tidor* (*Ægithina tiphia*) calls near

[1] [So-called owing to the noises which it makes respectively with the wings and the mouth.—I. H. N. E.]

a house, that also is a great cause for anger to some Malays, because the bird, it seems, tells the people to die.

Now the bird which was most praised by the Malays of former times was the *murai* ("Straits' robin"), for when it called anywhere near a house, and was recognised, the people asked it for news, saying, "What news do you bring, O lady?" and if their child, relation, or mother or father had gone far away, and they had no news, they asked the bird, saying, "If so-and-so is coming back or so-and-so will arrive, fly away quietly." And sometimes the bird immediately flew away or it kept quite, and the information thus given was on occasions true; but sometimes the bird would not be quiet, but went on calling: then they said to it "Don't lie to us: if you lie, you shall be eaten by snake or a civet-cat." So Malays did not like to catch or kill *murai*, and, if they got one anywhere of old, they combed it nicely with oil and then loosed it, saying, "Go lady; fly away safely."

XXXV. A ROCK-SHELTER AT GUNONG PONDOK.

By Ivor H. N. Evans, M.A.

(Plates XXV—XXVII).

The objects described in this paper were obtained from a rock-shelter in Gunong Pondok, the magnificent limestone-marble hill which is seen from the railway at Padang Rengas station and while the train is ascending the southern side of Bukit Berapit Pass. Excavation of the site was carried out by Mr. W. M. Gordon (Temporary Assistant, F.M.S. Museums) in the latter part of 1921.

The shelter in question, the Gua Kerbau (buffaloes' cave) lies at the base of the hill and not far to the right of the quarry, as it is approached from the railway station. The ground slopes away from the shelter, which is about 150 feet in length with an overhang of rock of some 15′ to 25′, and a short distance below becomes marshy and, in wet weather, flooded. I visited the excavations on three occasions and thus, apart from the specimens collected, know something of them from my own observations. Two large pits were dug and, in the first of these, excavations were stopped owing to bed-rock being encountered at a depth of fourteen feet: in the second excavation a depth of ten feet had been reached when digging was abandoned.

Remains due to human occupation were common throughout the deposits, which were generally of powdery light-brown earth containing a good deal of lime. There seemed to be no strata referable to different cultures and, in the main, objects found near the surface were paralleled by those from the middle and lower parts of the pits.

Many bones and teeth of animals were unearthed—remnants of the cave-dwellers feasts—and these all appear to be those of extant species. Among them I have been able to identify teeth or bones of the following: elephant (teeth), rhinoceros (teeth), deer (fragments of antlers), pig (tusk and teeth and soft-shelled turtle (pieces of carapace, etc.). The subject of these remains will, however, probably be dealt with in a separate paper. Nearly all the bones are much broken, as I have observed in the case of similar relics from other Peninsular rock-shelters and caves. The fractures were probably made in order to extract the marrow. A proportion of the bones are blackened by fire.

Shells of a species of *Melania* and of a fresh-water mussel (*Unio* sp.) were common throughout the deposits and a considerable number of marine shells were also encountered, the most remarkable being some belonging to a species of

Voluta, probably *Voluta indica*, while cockles (*Arca* sp.) claws and others were also present.

A number of pieces of iron-oxide ruddle were unearthed at varying depths, these pieces in several cases showing very distinct signs of having been ground down against a stone or other hard surface.

A quantity of round grinding-stones and several grinding-slabs, probably for use with the former were also discovered. The grinding-stones are rounded river-worn pebbles of varying size, many of them deeply stained with ruddle, while the grinding-slabs are flattened water-worn stones which in some cases have deep grooved hollows in them owing to the constant use of the grinding-stones upon them. On two stones hollows are to be seen on both sides.

The excavations yielded a new type of pounding-stone —for such I take it to be. These stones, which are fairly numerous at all depths, are of various sizes and of different kinds of rock. They are water-worn pebbles naturally flattened laterally, but their remarkable feature is that they have been picked, or ground, away in the centres on both sides forming depressions to give a grip to the thumb and index finger when grasped in the hand. The majority of the specimens show bruising at the edges, and I am inclined to believe that they were largely used for breaking the bones of animals killed in the chase previous to extraction of the marrow. The sides of some of the smoother stones are coloured with ruddle towards their ends, showing that they were used as grinding-stones for rubbing up this pigment (probably with water) as well.

A small neolithic-culture stone axe-head was found in the first excavation at a depth of from eight to nine feet. This implement, though unmistakable, is extremely rough—a piece of black stone roughly chipped to shape and ground, on either surface, towards the cutting edge only.

Flakes and roughly dressed pieces of the same black stone as that of the above-mentioned stone axe-head were common and, judging by the finding of a single polished implement must be ascribed to a neolithic culture. The most typical of the chipped stones seem to fall into three classes, pear-shaped, rounded and rectangular. Possibly the rounded specimens may have been used as scrapers.

Rough unglazed pottery was found at all depths and the peculiar cord-marked ware, often with diamond-shaped reticulations, which I have described from other shelters, both in Perak and Pahang, was fairly common. Other rough pottery was ornamented with little square depressions set close together: these were probably, judging by the regularity of the impressions, made with a cross-hatched wooden stamp.

Smoother pottery, approximating more or less to that

still in use among the Malays was also discovered at all depths. Seemingly—from a scrutiny of the pieces found, many of which are fragments of rims—the vessels were mostly pipkins and water-pots.

Fragments of porcelain, nearly all belonging to the celadon and crackle classes, in grey-white, apple green and a grey-green were encountered at various depths down to ten feet. Some of the pieces obtained at a depth of about six feet have patterns incised in the paste which are filled with glaze. Presumably, unless from Sawankhalok in Siam, the celadon and other ware is of Chinese origin. Some fragments of brown, glazed earthenware were also met with in the first six feet of earth excavated.

Iron objects were found between six and ten feet and also between ten and fourteen feet. At the lesser depth were discovered the blade of a small working-knife, exactly similar to that which present-day Malays use for dressing strips of rattan cane and call *pisau raut*, and the tang of another knife-blade of the same kind. Of the specimen from below ten feet it is not possible to speak with certainty as it is much corroded by rust, but it also appears to be a part of a knife-blade of some kind, but of a variety larger than the *pisau raut*.

No bronze or brass implements or utensils were met with, but, at a depth of seven feet in the first excavation, a "cash" of Chinese type was discovered. Father Cardon of Taiping has kindly indentified this for me as an Annamite coin issued by a rebel chief named Nguyen Yan-hue (1786—1791). A figure of an indentical specimen can be found in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society, North China Branch*, Vol. XVII, *Annam and its Minor Currency*, p. 192, fig. 193, and a description of the coin on p. 127 of the same volume.

Human bones, comprising in some cases considerable parts of skeletons, nearly all much broken, were unearthed at various depths. The jaws are, however, in some cases nearly complete and some restoration of some of the skulls should also be possible. Very noticeable points are that the teeth are remarkably strong and without sign of caries, while in almost all cases both front and back teeth are much worn down. Filing might have accounted for this in regard to the canines and incisors, but this treatment can scarcely have been applied to the premolars and molars, the tubercles of which are worn away. These peculiarities have also been noted in the case of human teeth from other Peninsular rock-shelters and caves.

It is hoped that these human remains, and those previously collected from other sites, will shortly be submitted to a specialist in physical anthropology and that the results of the examination of them will be published in this *Journal*.

Before bringing these notes to a conclusion, it may

not be out of place to attempt some comparison between the objects found at Gunong Pondok and those obtained from other caves and shelters, to note any points of outstanding interest with regard to them and also to attempt to date them approximately. None of the locally-made objects from Gunong Pondok with the exception of the indented pounding-stones which I have described above, are of types new to us.

Sea shells have already been recorded from a rock-shelter at Batu Kurau and at Ipoh, though shells of *Voluta* had not been encountered previously.

Ruddle was present in two caves in Pahang (at Gunong Sennyum and near Jerantut), at Lenggong (Perak) and probably at Gunong Cheroh near Ipoh—judging by the staining of certain grinding-stones, while these articles and grinding-slabs have been recorded previously from Gunong Cheroh and Lenggong, flakes from the two above mentioned sites in Pahang, and from Lenggong, dressed (chipped) stones from Lenggong and from the Pahang caves, polished stone implements from Gunong Cheroh, the Pahang caves and Batu Kurau and cord-marked pottery from Pahang and Lenggong. I have also noted previously the association of iron implements with those of polished stone in the case of the Batu Kurau shelter.

The association of iron and stone implements would incline one to believe that the deposits are comparatively recent, while the finding of a coin at a depth of seven feet places all remains above this level as being not older than the date of this piece of money (between 1786 and 1791 A.D.).

The fragments of Chinese porcelain are also important witnesses with regard to age, for, though ancient pottery, such as is still in use among the Malays, does not indicate that objects found in association with it are of the same period, it does at any rate show that such objects cannot be of greater age. Now I am fairly certain that none of the porcelain from Gunong Pondok is earlier than the Sung dynasty (960–1259 A.D.) and probably not earlier than the Ming dynasty (1368–1643 A.D.). If this is so, none of the objects associated with it can be older than the earliest of these dates.

POUNDING STONES WITH GRIP-DEPRESSIONS.

Gunong Pondok, Perak.

Two of the stones, numbers 2 and 3 in the bottom row, are quartz pebbles.

OBJECTS FROM GUNONG PONDOK, PERAK.

(1–5) Roughly chipped implements.

(6) Grinding stone. A quartz pebble stained with ruddle towards either end.

(7) A piece of ruddle with flattened faces and angular edges. It has obviously been ground down against a hard surface.

(8) Neolithic type axe-head; polished and sharpened only at distal end.

GRINDING-STONE AND SLAB.

Gunong Pondok, Perak.

XXXVI. ETHNOGRAPHICAL MISCELLANEA.

By IVOR H. N. EVANS, M.A.

Some Aboriginal Customs and Beliefs from Pahang.

The following information was obtained in October, 1921, from a Kĕrau River Sakai-Jakun, who was then living just below Jeram Ampai on the Tembeling River, Pahang.

The Kĕrau River people—speakers of a Sakai dialect—came, according to tradition from Johore. The head of the tribe is the Batin. There was formerly only one officer of this rank; now there are two.

For offences against tribal morals or custom fines were, or are, levied in spears or plates. The fine for murder was sixty-six spears, while incest in the worst degree, between, for instance, father and daughter, is said to have been punishable by a fine of one hundred and sixty spears. Other minor fines were—for stealing crops, one spear and one plate; unfaithfulness on a woman's part, two plates and six spears. Probably, judging by the abatements given below, payment in full of the largest fines was never enforced.

Plates and spears also form a part of the bride-price. Thus the nominal payment by a suitor to a father for the hand of a virgin daughter is sixty spears, but actually only from three to six are paid, the number varying according to the quality of the weapons. The bride-price for a widow is less, the nominal number of spears being fifteen with two china plates. Only one spear and the two plates are paid.

When a man divorces a woman he gives her one spear and one plate, while, if the woman asks for a divorce, she must pay back her bride-price.

Plates and spears appear to have a sort of currency value

For three days after a death, seven little fires, contained in cocoanut-shell are kindled at the grave each night, and another seven, in similar receptacles, are placed on the dead man's mat within the house.

If a cat walks over a body which is awaiting burial, it is thought that the dead person will arise, kill the inhabitants of the house, and will then return to the burial mat and again become a corpse. It is also said that the dead, if not watched before burial, will arise and tear the living to pieces.

A dead person before burial, and for three nights after, is a *kemoit*; after this a *bes*. A *bes* has the appearance of

a living person. Thunder (*kareh*) is said to be the anger of *bes*.

The rainbow is a path for disease. If people are on a journey when a rainbow appears, they stop and build a small hut.

All males are circumcised at, or before, the age of puberty, but the operation, though apparently performed in the same manner as among the Malays, is not so radical. The women do not undergo any corresponding rite.

The Orang Laut of Singapore.

While recently in Singapore (1921), I paid a short visit to the village of Teluk Saga, which is situated off the shore of Pulau Brani, and opposite Tanjong Pagar Docks. The settlement consists of pile-dwellings standing in shallow water and its inhabitants are said to be descendants of the Orange Laut, or Sea Gypsies, who were almost the only inhabitants of Singapore Island at the time of its occupation by Raffles.

My boatman, who himself belonged to the village, introduced me to the oldest inhabitant, one Amil bin Onil, an aged, but still fairly vigorous, man who told me that he was already selling corals to visitors to Singapore when there was "a one-legged Governor" there (Governor Cavanagh 1861–1867). As he was only a boy at the time, let us say from twelve to fourteen years of age, he must now be in the neighbourhood of 70 years old. He said that his people were living in boats on the Singapore River near the site of the present Government offices when Raffles opened the new settlement, and that they migrated from there to Teluk Saga in Raffles' time. The head of the tribe at that date was named Wakin, and the grandfather of Amil was among those who moved to Pulau Brani. I understand that the people of the tribe originally acted as boatmen to the Bĕndahara.

Amil denied that there has been, or is, much mixture of local or foreign blood, Malay or other, among his people. They have, of course, long been converts to Islam.

The information derived from Amil is largely borne out by evidence to be found in *One Hundred Years of Singapore* (Vol. I, pp. 342 and 343).